

# MONTE CASSINO, BYZANTIUM, AND THE WEST IN THE EARLIER MIDDLE AGES

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*Finally, I wish to emphasize that the manuscript of this study was submitted before the invasion of Italy by the Allies in 1943.*

FEW places in the West represent the continuity of tradition between the ancient and the modern world as well as Monte Cassino, the foundation of St. Benedict.<sup>1</sup> An outpost of the Roman church near the border of southern Italy, it was predestined to play a significant part in the clashes between the forces of the North, the emperors and the popes, and those of the South. There the Lombard princes and the Saracens held sway until the armies of the Byzantine emperors reconquered southern Italy, after which Greek influence became predominant. When the greatest struggle of the high Middle Ages began, the struggle between spiritual and temporal power, Monte Cassino was a true bulwark of Rome, firmly linked with the leaders of the Church, newly reformed by the forces of Cluny. It was deeply involved in the conflict between Rome and Byzantium in the eleventh century. Soon afterwards the arts in Monte Cassino, under the great abbot Desiderius, experienced the influence of Byzantium, spectacular as never before, while Monte Cassino in general became for a few decades a political and cultural center unequalled in the whole of Europe.

The important effects which the wave of Byzantine influence exerted on western art in this period have recently been emphasized anew.<sup>2</sup> How large a share Monte Cassino had in this movement is generally recognized. No partial treatment, no one-sided approach does it justice. The solution cannot be given by the Fine Arts alone. Relations between Byzantium and Monte Cassino must be viewed in their whole sweep, a task as yet not essayed.<sup>3</sup> Could we remove for this purpose the traditional barriers which

<sup>1</sup> Evaluations of the importance of Monte Cassino are frequent in modern literature and need not be listed here. However, a satisfactory history of the abbey does not yet exist. The standard work still is Dom Erasmo Gattola's monumental *Historia abbatiae Casinensis* (Venice, 1733), 2 vol., *Ad historiam abb. Cas. accessiones* (1734), 2 vol. Cf. also Luigi Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte-Cassino* (Naples, 1842; Rome, 1891<sup>2</sup>). One field connected with the history of Monte Cassino, palaeography, has found its exhaustive and final treatment in E. A. Lowe's works, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), and *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> W. Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, I (1940), p. 79. Koehler speaks in this connection of "an international style of the twelfth century," and considers Byzantine art of the eleventh century as the source from which this international style was derived (p. 76). Charles H. Haskins who in his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), had scarcely touched upon the problems of fine arts came to a parallel conclusion as the last sentence of this book indicates (p. 396): "The international student of the *studium generale* is the natural accompaniment of the international language and the international culture of the twelfth century."

<sup>3</sup> The importance of Italy in this process was stressed by Koehler, *loc. cit.*, p. 79. Dom Mauro Inguanéz' paper "Montecassino e l'oriente nel medioevo," *Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, I (Rome, 1938), pp. 377-384, is the first attempt to treat this subject

separate the various disciplines of history, philology and history of art, then the wider background chosen in the following pages might contribute to a better understanding of an essential stage in the history of art.

I. MONTE CASSINO AND THE BYZANTINE HEGEMONY  
IN SOUTHERN ITALY (885-1022)

Any historical investigation of Monte Cassino is seriously hampered by the fact that no one has yet published the voluminous cartulary of the monastery, compiled in the early thirties of the twelfth century by the librarian of Monte Cassino, Peter the Deacon. It has been recently announced from Monte Cassino that a complete edition was in preparation; we can only hope that this plan may soon be realized.<sup>4</sup> Few *corpora* indeed exist of documents of equal importance for the general history of the Middle Ages. The *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, as this collection is termed, was largely utilized by Peter himself when he revised the Chronicle of Monte Cassino written by Leo, later cardinal bishop of Ostia, and continued by Guido, Peter's teacher. The last part of the Chronicle, which is entirely by Peter, likewise rests to a considerable extent on this same foundation.<sup>5</sup>

but is written from a very general point of view and without pretending to give an historical account. Inguanez himself was well aware of the sketchy character of his study and suggested therefore that a more detailed investigation should be undertaken (p. 384).

<sup>4</sup> On the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* see the excellent monograph by E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin, 1909), pp. 19 ff., 156 ff., 179 ff. Most of the documents contained in that collection are edited and scattered in numerous publications. Complete literature will be given in my book, now in preparation, *Petrus Diaconus of Monte Cassino and the Revival of Roman History in the Middle Ages*. An edition of the *Reg. Petri Diac.* was being prepared according to an announcement on the cover of the first fascicle of the second volume of the *Catalogus Codicum Casinensium* by M. Inguanez (Monte Cassino, 1928).

<sup>5</sup> The Chronicle of Monte Cassino, which belongs to the most significant and interesting monastic chronicles of the Middle Ages, has been in recent years the object of numerous studies. Although these studies have not brought a definite solution of the many problems of the Chronicle, they have greatly contributed to a better understanding of this work; cf. especially W. Smidt, "Über den Verfasser der drei letzten Redaktionen der Chronik Leos von Monte Cassino," *Papsttum und Kaisertum* (*Festschrift P. Kehr*) (Munich, 1926), pp. 263-286; the same, "Guido von Monte Cassino und die 'Fortsetzung' der Chronik Leos durch Petrus Diaconus," *Festschrift A. Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), pp. 293-323; H.-W. Klewitz, "Petrus Diaconus und die Montecassineser Klosterchronik des Leo von Ostia," *Arch. f. Urkundenforsch.*, XIV (1936), pp. 414-453; W. Smidt, "Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Urgestalt der Chronik Leos von Montecassino," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven*, XXVIII (1937/8), pp. 286-297. In the present study the results of these articles have been fully used by attributing either to Leo, librarian of Monte Cassino, and later cardinal bishop of Ostia (Leo Ost.) or to Petrus Diaconus, the respective parts of the chronicle. Wherever the authorship seemed doubtful, the reference has been given without naming any author. The Chronicle of Monte Cassino was published by W. Wattenbach in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (= MG.), *Scriptores* (= SS.), VII (1846), pp. 551-844; reprint in J.-P. Migne, *PL*, CLXXIII, pp. 440-978.



It is not surprising therefore that most of the information concerning the political relations between Monte Cassino and Byzantium goes back to Peter's *Registrum* and his additions to the Chronicle. The Byzantine documents in the *Registrum* consist of privileges and letters of emperors and privileges from high Byzantine officials in Italy.<sup>6</sup> In two cases the bilingual originals are preserved; but in these and in all other instances Peter the Deacon transcribed only the official Latin translations, since he knew no Greek.<sup>7</sup>

According to Peter, close relations were entertained between the monastery and the court in Constantinople as early as the time of the foundation of Monte Cassino. He himself transcribed donations of property in Sicily, Africa, Greece, and elsewhere, which he alleged to have emanated from the emperors Justinian and Justin II. This is not the place to deal with the personality of Peter the Deacon, one of the strangest figures in the history of mediaeval literature. It is sufficient to state here that these privileges have been shown beyond dispute to be forgeries of Peter himself; in reality no connection between the monastery and the Eastern Empire can be proved to have existed before the end of the ninth century.<sup>8</sup> The invasion of the Lombards had led to the abandonment of the monastery by the monks in 581, a few decades after its foundation in 529; more than a hundred years passed before a newcomer from northern Italy, Petronax of Brescia, re-founded it in 718. In the following period the influence of the Carolingian emperors in the monastery made itself strongly felt, but they were unable to protect it effectively against the Saracens. In 883 Monte Cassino fell before them; the abbot Bertharius was slain in the church of St. Martin and the monks fled to Teano in Campania.<sup>9</sup> It is to this period of exile that we may attribute the first contacts between the monks and Byzantium.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> As a list of them has never been published I give it here: *Reg. Petri Diac.* nos. 112, 136-149, 153, 154, 156. With the exception of no. 144 (on which see *infra*, p. 191, n. 88), all these documents are edited by F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865); nos. 141 and 142, however, are published after the originals in the Archives of Monte Cassino, without any reference to the copies in the *Reg. Petri Diac.* About these two documents cf. *infra*, p. 172, n. 34 and p. 187, n. 75.

<sup>7</sup> For details reference is made to the book mentioned in n. 4. For Peter's lack of knowledge of Greek see Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> Fundamental: Caspar, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 ff.; cf. also L. T. White, Jr., *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> For the history of Monte Cassino up to the destruction of 883 cf. G. Falco, "Lineamenti di storia cassinese nei secoli VIII e IX," *Casinensia*, II (Monte Cassino, 1929), pp. 457-548 (pp. 457-509 are identical with the same author's article "Lineamenti di storia cassinese dall' VIII all' XI secolo," *Riv. stor. it.*, N. S. VII (1929), pp. 225-270, which was not continued). S. Brechter, "Monte Cassinos erste Zerstörung," *Stud. und Mitt. d. Benedikt. Ord.*, LVI (1938), pp. 109-150.

<sup>10</sup> For the following exposition of the political relations between Byzantium and Monte

During the reconquest of southern Italy by the Byzantine generals Gregorius (from 876) and Nicephorus Phocas (from 885), the former returned to the monastery estates and dependencies regained in the campaign (885).<sup>11</sup> In 892 the *strategos* Symbaticius, after the conquest of Benevento, granted to the monks of Monte Cassino a confirmation of all their possessions. Two months later, his successor Georgius offered a privilege to the monastery S. Vincenzo al Volturno, not far from Monte Cassino.<sup>12</sup> When in 899 the Byzantines conquered Conversano in Apulia, the *spatharocandidatus* Medalspus as arbiter settled a dispute between Theodinus, *praepositus* of St. Benedict in Conversano, and a certain Malgegarus, in favor of the Benedictines.<sup>13</sup> In 911 the *protopatharius* Joannacius confirmed to abbot Leo of Monte Cassino and to the *praepositus* Wamelfrid of St. Benedict in Asculum (Apulia) the possessions of this monastery, a dependency of Monte Cassino.<sup>14</sup>

Thus it is quite obvious that in this period of nascent power the Byzantine emperor had taken over the task of the German emperor as protector of the two Benedictine monasteries in Campania; and this benevolence toward Monte Cassino and its dependencies remained the traditional attitude of the court of Constantinople as long as the emperors had any power left in Italy.

If, then, the Byzantine government acted as protector of Monte Cassino, it also recognized its importance, as can be clearly shown. It was in these early years of the tenth century that a furious debate took place, ill-famed in the annals of the Roman church: the debate as to the legitimacy of the ordinations of priests made by Pope Formosus, erstwhile bishop of Portus, who had died in 896.<sup>15</sup> This discussion reached its peak in the pon-

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Cassino, which, of course, rests on the primary sources, J. Gay's work *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904), has been of great use; however, the history of these relations has never been told from the point of view of Monte Cassino.

<sup>11</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 137 fol. 65 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 1, p. 1; Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 110, n. 2, pp. 141, 169.

<sup>12</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 136 fol. 65 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 3, p. 2; cf. Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* I 49. *Chron. Vulturense* (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, vol. 59) II (1925), pp. 21–23. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 183, 235.

<sup>13</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 143 fol. 66 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 4, p. 3 = D. Morea, *Il chartularium del monastero S. Benedetto in Conversano*, I (Monte Cassino, 1892), no. 2, pp. 3–5 and XXI.

<sup>14</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 138 fol. 65<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 5, p. 4. Wamelfrid is mentioned by Petrus Diac. in an addition to Leo's text, *Chron. Cas.* I 46.

<sup>15</sup> Fundamental still: E. Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius* (Leipzig, 1866). Cf. P. Fedele, "Ricerche per la storia di Roma e del papato nel sec. XI, I. Sergio III," *Arch. R. soc. Rom. di stor. patria*, XXXIII (1910), pp. 177–240. F. Gregorovius, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, new ed. (Dresden, 1926), I, pp. 690–708. L. M. Hartmann, *Gesch. Italiens im Mittelalter*, III, 2 (Gotha, 1911), pp. 113 ff., 123 ff., 213 ff. F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926), p. 54. Démètre Pop, *La défense du pape Formose*, Thèse (Strasbourg, 1933).

tificate of Sergius III (904–911), a violent adversary of Formosus. In two pamphlets the poet Eugenius Vulgarius of Naples, a cleric who owed his ordination to Formosus, vigorously defended the dead pope, thus arousing the fury of Sergius, who relegated him to a monastery. Vulgarius' place of refuge has rightly been identified with the residence of the monks of Monte Cassino at Teano.<sup>16</sup> At Teano there also lived another passionate partisan of Formosus and friend of Vulgarius, the presbyter Auxilius.<sup>17</sup> In the library of Monte Cassino there are still preserved three manuscripts (Codd. Cas. 29; 30; 90) which contain the scholarly excerpts of Auxilius from various writers.<sup>18</sup> In the monastery of Teano, then, most probably originated the only manuscript of the writings of Vulgarius and Auxilius, the famous Bambergensis P. III. 20, which was brought to Germany by Henry II.<sup>19</sup> And the only place where at least one of the poems of Vulgarius has been preserved apart from the Bambergensis is a manuscript at Monte Cassino (Cod. Cas. 439).<sup>20</sup> This poem is dedicated to the emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912). In the Bambergensis three additional poems are dedicated to Leo.<sup>21</sup> The tone of all of them is highly adulatory. One of the poems (no. XVI) is in the form of a pyramid, followed by an explanation in which there is even an allusion to the *sapientia* of the emperor. "Congaudet mundus laetus sub Caesare tanto," the poet exclaims. "Hominum caput, inclyte Caesar," he starts another poem (no. XVII); and the third,

Salve magne Leo, summa potentia,  
Romanumque decus clara prosapia.  
Salve, nate deum, Caesar, in aeona. . . .

He ends the series with the prayer:

Ut Leo Caesar  
Magnus et unus  
Sede coruscus,  
Divus honoris,  
Numine felix,  
Vivat in annos.

<sup>16</sup> On Eugenius Vulgarius cf. P. v. Winterfeld, *Monum. Germ. Hist.* (= MG.), *Poetae latini med. aev.*, IV, I (1899), pp. 406 ff. M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. im Mittelalter*, I (Munich, 1911), pp. 433–436. P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (*Stud. Bibl. Warburg*, XVII), I (1929), pp. 50–55.

<sup>17</sup> On Auxilius cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 437–441. P. Fedele, "Accenti d'italianità in Montecassino nel medioevo," *Bull. dell'ist. stor. ital.*, XLVII (1932), pp. 7–10.

<sup>18</sup> Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, p. 439; II (1923), p. 805. M. Inganez, *Cat. cod. Cas.*, I, 1 (1915), pp. 36–45, 90.

<sup>19</sup> E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 335 and *Scriptura Beneventana*, pl. 34. Fischer, *Zentralblatt f. Biblioth.*, XXIV (1907), p. 378.

<sup>20</sup> Winterfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 407, no. 4. Fedele, *loc. cit.* (in n. 17), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> The poems dedicated to Leo are printed in Winterfeld's edition on pp. 422–425 (nos. 15–19); their importance for the "Renovatio" was emphasized by Schramm, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f. and Fedele, *loc. cit.* (in n. 17), pp. 9 f.

It is more than a casual coincidence, under these circumstances, that the same Leo VI was the first emperor of the East who personally granted a privilege to the monks of Monte Cassino in Teano. It is a privilege of exemption from all taxes and contributions and belongs to the year 911, when Vulgarius had already composed his poems.<sup>22</sup> This direct intervention of the emperor is all the more striking if we consider that the next imperial document for Monte Cassino was drawn up more than a century later, in 1054.<sup>23</sup> Thus there is at least a probability that a relationship exists between the flatteries of Eugenius Vulgarius and the diploma of the emperor.

In the following years the influence of the Lombard princes of Capua became so overwhelming that the monks in Teano, at the instigation of abbot John I, decided in 915 to go to Capua themselves. The princes for their part, under the pressure of the Saracenic danger, had become vassals of the emperors of Constantinople and adopted the title of a *patricius imperialis*. So close were their connections with abbot John that, in the same year 915, they sent him to Constantinople to urge the new emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos to fulfil the promise of military help against the Saracens given by Leo VI in 909 to Landulf, son of Atenulf of Capua.<sup>24</sup> Whatever the success of John's mission may have been, the Saracens suffered in the same year of 915 a decisive defeat at the Garigliano by the united armies of the Byzantine *strategos* Nicolas Picingli, Pope John X and Alberich of Spoleto.

The journey of abbot John remains all the more remarkable if one remembers that he was the first abbot after the destruction of the monastery in 883 who took a new interest in art. The Cod. Cas. 175, written in Capua, the earliest illuminated Benedictine manuscript of the region, is a noteworthy survival of this activity (Fig. 217).<sup>25</sup> It required the energy of

<sup>22</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 149 fol. 67<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 2, p. 2, cf. F. Dölger, *Corpus der griech. Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Reihe A, I (1923), no. 555, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> See *infra*, p. 191, n. 88. The privilege which was offered to Monte Cassino in 1018 by the *catapanus* Bojoannes in the name of the emperor does not belong in this category because it was not drawn up by the emperor; see *infra*, p. 172, n. 36.

<sup>24</sup> The only source of this interesting information is a document which was drawn up by abbot John during his journey at the monastery of St. Benedict of Conversano, a dependency of Monte Cassino (see *supra*, n. 13): Morea, *op. cit.* (in n. 13), pp. XXI, 15–19, pl. 1. The document starts as follows (p. 16): "In nomine Jhesu Christi tertio anno imperii domni Constantini sanctissimo imperatore nostro mense aprilis tertia indictione. Iohannes abbas monasterii sancti Benedicti qui situm est in monte Casino sicut transmissus sum a nostris principibus pergendum deo iubante in partibus Constantinopolim; et benientibus nos in castello Cupersano. . . ." The document is briefly mentioned by Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 161, no. 2 and p. 236. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, III, 2, pp. 166, 173.

<sup>25</sup> On Cod. Cas. 175 cf. Lowe, *Benev. Script*, p. 69 and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 39. Inguanez, *Cat. cod. Cas.*, I, 2 (1923), pp. 258–260. Klewitz, *loc. cit.* (in n. 5), pp. 429 ff.

abbot Aligernus (949–986) finally to restore the congregation to Monte Cassino, more than sixty years after the disaster of 883.<sup>26</sup> In his vigorous attempts to regain the possessions of Monte Cassino lost during the period of exile, Aligernus obtained help from the Byzantine governor, the *patricius* Marianus Argyrus.<sup>27</sup>

It was under abbot Aligernus that another kind of relationship was established between the monastery and the Greek East, a relation which was to prove of great importance, though in a somewhat different way, in the following century. In consequence of the military successes of the Byzantines in Italy, Greek monks of Calabria and Apulia migrated northwards; among them was the celebrated Nilus of Rossano.<sup>28</sup> About 980 he was received in friendly fashion in Capua by the prince Pandulph I, who shortly before his death persuaded Aligernus to give Nilus a monastery. The *vita* of St. Nilus, one of the most brilliant examples of Byzantine hagiography, describes in bright colors the deferential reception which was accorded him by the monks of Monte Cassino on his arrival there. It was as if St. Benedict himself had risen from the dead. Nilus was full of praise for the Benedictines, especially for their *εὐταξία καὶ πεπαιδευμένη κατάσταση*.<sup>29</sup> Aligernus himself asked Nilus to officiate in Greek in the basilica of St. Benedict, and Nilus used the hymns in honor of St. Benedict which he himself had composed. Then Nilus and his sixty companions went to live in the monastery of Vallelucium which Aligernus had assigned to them. But when the monastic discipline slackened under Aligernus' successor Manso, who practically ruled the monastery in the name of his relatives, the princes of Capua, Nilus left Vallelucium, though not without threatening the abbot and his monks with divine punishment.<sup>30</sup>

Nilus was not the only one dissatisfied with the regime of abbot Manso. Eight of the most distinguished inmates of Monte Cassino left the monastery for the same reasons.<sup>31</sup> Three of them are known to us: John, later abbot John III of Monte Cassino (997–1010), Theobald, abbot from 1022

<sup>26</sup> Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 f.

<sup>27</sup> In the *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 153 fol. 69 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 6, p. 5, a document is preserved by which Marianus Argyrus authorizes abbot Aligernus to make all necessary inquiries about the monastery's property in his province. Cf. Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* II 2 and Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 237, n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 376 ff. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, IV, 2 (1915) pp. 107 ff., 122 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Vita S. Nili Iunioris* XI, 73, Migne, *PG*, CXX, p. 126; cf. also I. Schuster, "A proposito d'una nota di topografia cassinese in un codice del secolo undecimo," *Casinensia*, I (1929), pp. 85–87; Inguanez, *loc. cit.* (in n. 3), p. 378.

<sup>30</sup> Vallelucium: *Vita S. Nili*, *loc. cit.* On the topography of Vallelucium see the important remarks of M. Avery in *Art Bull.*, XXIII (1941), p. 115, n. 47. Death of Aligernus: *Vita S. Nili* XII, 84; break with Manso: *ib.*, XII, 85 f. Cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 383–385.

<sup>31</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II, 12, Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 383 f.

to 1035, and Lintius. But whereas Nilus remained in the West, the three monks of Monte Cassino went to the East; John lived for six years on Mount Sinai and then "per aliquot temporis spatia" on Mount Athos,<sup>32</sup> Theobald and Lintius went to Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> This episode of the Greek hermit who revered St. Benedict in Monte Cassino and the Latin monk who took his residence on Mount Athos in his search for the genuine spiritual life bears witness to the strong mutual interest, which formed the ground on which the growing Byzantine influence could develop.

Meanwhile the series of Byzantine documents in behalf of Monte Cassino continues.<sup>34</sup> We are now approaching the period in which the Normans appear for the first time in southern Italy. A nobleman from Bari, Melo, formed a connexion with them in 1011 after his attempt at rebellion against the Byzantine domination had been frustrated by the *catapanus* Basilius Mesardonites. It was after this defeat of Melo that Mesardonites from Salerno gave a privilege to the monastery.<sup>35</sup> Characteristically, his successor, Basilius Bojoannes, one of the last great Byzantine generals in Italy, offered in the name of the emperor a general privilege to Monte Cassino, in which he confirmed all the privileges given previously to Monte Cassino by Byzantine officials.<sup>36</sup> This was in 1018, the year in which he inflicted on Melo and his Norman knights a crushing defeat at Cannae. The abbot of Monte Cassino at this time was Atenulf, a brother of the powerful prince of Capua, Pandulf IV. Both had conspired with the rebels against the government in Constantinople. The Byzantine victory brought about a radical change in their policy: Pandulf sent golden keys to the emperor Basilius II as sign of his subjugation;<sup>37</sup> Atenulf had undoubtedly been won over beforehand by Bojoannes' privilege which proved to be a

<sup>32</sup> Desiderius, *Dial.* II 1-2 (MG., SS., XXX, pp. 1126-1128), Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 12 and 22.

<sup>33</sup> *Chron. Cas.* II 12 and 52. Lintius seems to have lived as a hermit after his return to Italy, but Petrus Diaconus' report which connects him somewhat with the foundation of the monastery La Cava (*Chron. Cas.* II 46) is highly suspect (P. Kehr, *Italia pontificia* [= *IP*], VIII (Berlin, 1934), pp. 310 f.).

<sup>34</sup> The confirmation of various possessions of Monte Cassino in Asculum (cf. *supra*, p. 168) and Lesina (both in Apulia) by the *protospatharius* Gregorius Trachaniotes in 999 and February 1000 may be mentioned here (Asculum: *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 140 fol. 66 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 11, p. 10; Lesina: Archives of Monte Cassino, Caps. XVIII, 1, 5 (original) = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 12, p. 10; copy in *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 141 fol. 66 = D. T. Lecisotti, *Le colonie Cassinesi in Capitanata*, I, Lesina, *Miscell. Cas.*, XIII (1937), no. 19, p. 65.

<sup>35</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 112 fol. 50 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 14, p. 14 = Lecisotti, *op. cit.*, no. 21, p. 68; cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

<sup>36</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 156 fol. 69<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 17, p. 18, cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, I, no. 804, p. 103. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

<sup>37</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 38. H. Bresslau, *Jahrb. des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II*, III (Leipzig, 1875), p. 156. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

clever diplomatic move. Monte Cassino and Capua came entirely under Byzantine influence in these years. No wonder therefore that in 1021 the *turmarcha* Falco, at the order of the same *catapanus* Bojoannes, made a conspicuous donation to the monastery from the confiscated possessions of the rebel Maraldus of Trani.<sup>38</sup>

But this very increase of Byzantine power at last provoked, in 1022, the intervention of the German emperor Henry II and pope Benedict VIII.

## II. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO EMPIRES IN SOUTHERN ITALY (1022-1038)

### I. THE INTERVENTION OF HENRY II (1022)

Abbot Atenulf had been acquainted with Germany for a long time. In 999, when Otto III's friend Ademar raided Capua, he would seem to have been one of the hostages offered by the local nobility and sent to Germany.<sup>39</sup> The stay in Germany may well have left its marks in Atenulf's mind: German influences have recently been attributed to the buildings which he erected in Monte Cassino after his election as abbot in 1011.<sup>40</sup> With Henry II he had been on good terms. Two diplomas still exist which Atenulf had received from him, one after Henry's coronation in Rome in 1014, the other one in 1019/20.<sup>41</sup>

When therefore the German chancellor, archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne, advanced with an army of 20,000 men against Monte Cassino and Capua,<sup>42</sup> with the order to seize both brothers, the abbot and the prince, Atenulf did not wait. He knew that he could not expect mild treatment. He fled to Otranto where he took ship for Constantinople, but he perished in a storm on March 30, 1022. When this was reported to the emperor he is said to have exclaimed: "He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made" (*Ps.* VII, 15).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 139 fol. 65<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. 20, cf. Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* II 38. See also Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

<sup>39</sup> *Chron. Cas.* II 29; cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 372 f. Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, pp. 124-125.

<sup>40</sup> A. Pantoni, "Problemi archeologici Cassinesi: La basilica pre-Desideriana," *Riv. di arch. crist.*, XVI (1939), esp. pp. 280-285; H. Thümmel, "Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts in Italien," *Röm. Jahrb. für Kunstgesch.*, III (1939), pp. 141-226, esp. p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> MG., *Diplom. Henrici II* (= *DH. II.*) no. 287 and 400. Cf. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, p. 180.

<sup>42</sup> The historian of art may be interested to know that another army of Henry II was led by Poppo, patriarch of Aquileia, who built the famous basilica of Aquileia, dedicated in 1031 (Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 39).

<sup>43</sup> Leo Ost., *ibid.*, cf. Amatus of Monte Cassino, *Storia de' Normanni* (ed. V. de Bartholomaeis in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, vol. 76) (Rome, 1935), I 27, p. 37. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 f.

Since archbishop Pilgrim did not find the abbot, he went at once to Capua. Pandulf IV, in view of the anti-Greek feelings of most of his subjects, did not risk a siege; he surrendered to Pilgrim in the hope of being able to justify his actions before the emperor. Henry II was besieging Troia when the prisoner was brought before him. Highly delighted, he convoked all his Italian and German magnates who were present and summoned Pandulf before this tribunal. As numerous people appeared to indict him and to accuse him for his crimes, the unanimous sentence of the judges was death. When this was reported to Pilgrim, he hurried to the emperor and saved Pandulf's life by his entreaties. But the emperor decided to put Pandulf in irons and to take him along to Germany.<sup>44</sup>

The two protagonists of Byzantine influence in southern Italy were thus eliminated and the emperor went to Monte Cassino — it was now June 1022 — in order to supervise the election of Atenulf's successor; he was well aware, indeed, that the late abbot had enjoyed the support of a strong party among his monks. The scene which took place in the monastery at that occasion, as preserved in Leo of Ostia's vivid description, is worth recording.<sup>45</sup>

The emperor summoned the monks in the chapter-house and invited them to proceed to the election of a new abbot. The solution which they suggested was of the type so frequently proposed by the Sacred College in difficult situations: they intended to elect ex-abbot John II who after a

<sup>44</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 40. Leo's original text in the passage on the trial of Pandulf IV runs as follows: "Exhilaratus itaque de captione principis imperator et aggregatis universis suis magnatibus, tam Italicis quam ultramontanis, in eorum iudicium illum inducit. Accusatoribus innumeris praesentibus et eius nequitas in faciem ipsius obicientibus, decernitur uno omnium parique iudicio mortis illum debere subire sententiam. Quod cum Peregrino fuisset relatum, festinus ad imperatorem accedens, precibus suis vitam ipsius optinuit; ferro tamen eum imperator vincendum secumque in Germaniam asportandum mandavit." Amatus of Monte Cassino, who likewise relies on very good material, gives a less detailed account, *op. cit.*, I 25, p. 34: "Et puis, par examination de juste jugement, Pandulfe, prince de Capue, fu jugié à mort. Mès, par priere de l'Archevesche de Coloingne, fu delivré de celle sentence; toutes foiz fu il porté de là de li Alpe liez de une catene en lo col." It should be noted, at this point, that the figure of Pandulf of Capua largely dominates the first two books of Amatus' historical work. Cf. further the important *Annales Casinenses ex annal. antiquis excerpti* a. 1022, *MG.*, *SS.*, XXX, pp. 1412-1413: "Pandulfum principem vinctum secum asportavit." As an example of a distinguished South-Italian historian who wrote 150 years after the event, cf. Romuald of Salerno, *Ann.*, *MG.*, *SS.*, XIX, p. 403.

<sup>45</sup> *Chron. Cas.* II 42. Leo's text was drastically altered by Petrus Diaconus in order to minimize the part of the emperor in the election. On this election cf. also *Chron. Cas.* II 52 and Bresslau, *op. cit.* (in n. 37), III, pp. 206-208. On abbot Theobald and his remarkable activity as prior of S. Maria del Liberatore see E. Carusi, "Intorno al Commemoratorium dell'abate Teobaldo (a. 1019-1022)," *Bull. dell'istit. stor. ital.*, XLVII (1932), pp. 173-190 and I. C. Gavini, *Storia dell'architettura in Abruzzo*, I, Milan, pp. 27 ff. On Theobald's interest for copying and illuminating manuscripts see Lowe, *Benev. Script.*, pp. 50 and 80, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 60 and 61.



regime of only one year had resigned his office in 998, twenty-four years before this event, on account of old age and infirmity. Since that time he had lived as a hermit, but he was present at the election. The compromise was not accepted; the emperor humbly addressed the old man: "Servant of God, go, pray for you and for us; a burden of this kind is not fitting for your age." He then proposed his own candidate, Theobald (Fig. 218), one of the men who, as we have seen, had defied abbot Manso and the clique of the prince of Capua. Later Theobald had been made prior of S. Maria del Liberatore by the same abbot John III who as a monk had left the monastery with him. Henry II was therefore sure that Theobald would represent the imperial interests in the abbey against Capua and Byzantium. As many of the monks murmured about the emperor's interference, and others praised his choice, he declared: "In order that we can distinguish between those who agree and those who do not, all those may arise who approve of my proposal." Almost all older and higher ranking brethren arose, while the younger men remained sitting. The emperor decided thereupon that the judgment of the older brethren should have more weight than that of the younger ones, who, apparently, constituted the majority in the assembly and were nothing but the pro-Byzantine party of the late abbot Atenulf.

There follows in Leo of Ostia's account the report of the miraculous healing of the emperor through the intervention of St. Benedict. The very next day after the miracle, Henry II presents the monastery with a real treasure of various gifts, in gratitude for the Saint's help. As a matter of fact, an extant diploma issued by the emperor in Monte Cassino during his stay (donation of the castle of Bantra) bears witness to his special veneration for St. Benedict and contains the expressed recognition of the oft-repeated succour given by the Saint in his illness.<sup>46</sup> The legendary form in

<sup>46</sup> *MG., DH. II.*, no. 474. The feelings of the emperor towards St. Benedict at that time are clearly expressed in this document, which is the basis for some of Petrus Diaconus' forgeries (cf. Klewitz, *loc. cit.* in n. 5, p. 451): "Quamvis communiter loca deo ubique dicata cottidie in melius proficere nostra ope adhibita velimus, singulariter tamen et quasi specialius ceteris locum, in quo venerabilis patris nostri sanctissimi Benedicti corpus fovetur, pollere admodum cupimus, quippe quem a primo aetatis flore semper maxime dileximus cuiusque intercessione piissima hactenus et in regno roborati et in infirmitate sepius positi misericorditer relevati sumus. Ergo omnium Christi nostrorumque fidelium universitatem scire iubemus, qualiter nos pro remedio animae nostrae montem eiusdem sancti Benedicti visitantes pensabamus, quali nobis munere deum ibidem melius placare possemus." The "sepius" is certainly noteworthy; there is further no allusion to the miraculous healing which allegedly just had happened when this document was issued. In the official versions of Monte Cassino which are preserved in two far from identical accounts (Leo and Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), I 30, p. 40), no previous healing by St. Benedict is mentioned. In this connection the famous golden antependium of Basel, now in the Musée de Cluny, should be mentioned. Christ is flanked by St. Benedict and Michael at the left, by Gabriel and Raphael at the

which this incident is reported urges caution upon us. It fitted in with the natural bias of the official Monte Cassino report to have the grateful emperor shower his precious gifts upon the monastery on the very day after the miracle had happened. But the list of these gifts which Leo has preserved includes items which could not possibly be in the emperor's possession on that day because they had to be taken out of pawn.<sup>47</sup> And, after all, Henry II was on a military campaign. It is inconceivable that he had that abundance of precious objects on hand which Leo's list presupposes.

right. To his feet Henry II and his wife Cunigund are represented kneeling. The inscription above and below the figures runs as follows:

QUIS SICUT HEL FORTIS MEDICUS SOTER BENEDICTUS  
PROSPICE TERRIGENAS CLEMENS MEDIATOR USIAS

(Latest edition of the inscription K. Strecker, *MG., Poet. lat. med. aev.*, V, 2 (1939), p. 365, no. 32). The first line has at least a double meaning: first of all, it gives the Latin interpretation of the names of the four figures (*quis sicut Hel?* = Michael, *fortis* = Gabriel, *medicus* = Raphael, *Soter* = Christ, and *Benedictus*). But the first line can be read also: Who is like God a strong physician, a blessed Saviour? Look at the earthly beings, merciful mediator! This is the interpretation given by W. Wackernagel in his fundamental study of the antependium, "Die goldene Altartafel von Basel," *Mitth. d. Gesellsch. für vaterländische Alterthümer*, VII (1857), p. 23; he is followed by P. E. Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, I (Leipzig, 1928), p. 199. Even Wackernagel was puzzled by the prominent position which St. Benedict has in this work, a position incongruous in view of the fact that the church was not dedicated to him (*loc. cit.*, p. 19). He was ignorant of the original sources on Henry II's miraculous healing and dismissed the later account of it in a fifteenth-century chronicle as a forgery. (*loc. cit.*, p. 26). Although his historical knowledge is hardly better, the interpretation of the first verse of the inscription proposed by E. du Sommerard (*Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny, Catalogue* (Paris, 1881), pp. 397-401), modifying a suggestion by B. Stark, becomes important in the light of these facts: *Quis sicut Hel fortis medicus? Benedictus*. Who is like God a strong physician and saviour? St. Benedict. This interpretation was accepted by E. Molinier, *Hist. gén. des arts appliquées à l'industrie*, IV (Paris, 1896), p. 129 (cf. also P. Perdrizet, "L'archange Ouriel," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II (Prague, 1928), pp. 241-276, esp. pp. 251-253). Now, in Leo's above mentioned report of the miracle of June 1022 the emperor addresses the brethren on the morning after the miracle: "Quid, domini mei, me consulitis dare *medico* qui me curavit?" And then he reveals that St. Benedict is the *medicus*. The same word is used in the inscription. Is the antependium of Basel a consequence of the emperor's visit to Monte Cassino? On account of the *sepius* in the diploma quoted above, it is safer to limit oneself to a *non liquet*. It is quite possible that the monument was offered by the emperor at the time of the dedication of the cathedral of Basel on October 11, 1018 (this is at any rate a *terminus post quem*). But it is equally possible that it was presented at any time between this date and the year 1024, e.g., on the occasion of Henry II's visit to Basel in September 1023 (cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.*, III, p. 266). As the most grandiose monument of Henry II's personal cult of St. Benedict, the antependium of Basel is a highly significant illustration of the document which formed the starting point of this digression.

<sup>47</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 43: "Recollegit praeterea a Iudaeis vestem unam de altario sancti Benedicti quae quondam fuerat Caroli regis; quam quidem Iudaei retinebant in pignore pro quingentis aureis; nec non et calicem argenteum Saxonicum maiorem cum patena sua, quem Theodericus, Saxonum rex, beato Benedicto olim transmiserat." This object is also mentioned in *Chron. Cas.* III 74 and IV 90.

Furthermore, one of the chief objects of his campaign had been the punishment of the abbot of Monte Cassino; no reason exists, therefore, to believe that the emperor had prepared his gifts beforehand — with the army of 20,000 men to be sent against the monastery.

The solution of this difficulty is simple enough: Leo reproduced an inventory of the emperor's gifts.<sup>48</sup> Numerous inventories of this kind have been used in this chronicle. Of course, the list of gifts was not necessarily dated, but it probably had a heading somewhat like this: *Haec sunt munera quae imperator Henricus obtulit beato Benedicto*. Leo was naturally tempted to dramatize further the legend of the miracle which the local tradition of the monastery transferred to him. He did so by connecting the list of gifts directly with the miracle, while at least some of them were made and could be made only some time after the emperor's short visit to Monte Cassino. It should not be forgotten that the last official act concerning Italy performed by Henry II benefited Monte Cassino. On April 19, 1024, three months before his death, he issued in Goslar a diploma in which he confirmed to abbot Theobald the donation of the castle of Bantra made in the document of June 1022 discussed above.<sup>49</sup> In conclusion, the veneration for St. Benedict and the sympathy for the abbot whom he had installed are sufficient to account for any gifts made by the emperor to the monastery founded by his favored Saint in the two years which passed between his visit to Monte Cassino and his death.

Leo's list of gifts offered by Henry II to Monte Cassino begins with a magnificent gospel book which is briefly described. The same gospel book is mentioned in two other inventories in the chronicle. It can be shown that this manuscript is still preserved.

2. A GOSPEL BOOK OF HENRY II AT MONTE CASSINO:  
THE COD. VAT. OTTOBON. LAT. 74

It has never been pointed out that the same items, gifts or other additions to the treasure of Monte Cassino, often appear more than once in the inventories inserted into the Chronicle of Monte Cassino. It would be quite possible to write a history of the treasure of this monastery on the basis of these inventories. Our interest here centers around the magnificent manuscripts, mostly gospel books, which were written at or given to the monastery and which of course figure in these inventories. Since the passages

<sup>48</sup> The style of the passage agrees perfectly with that of the *Commemoratorium* of abbot Theobald, which belongs just to the same time and which is preserved in the original; Carusi, *loc. cit.* (in n. 45), pp. 182-188.

<sup>49</sup> *MG.*, *DH.*, II, no. 508; cf. Bresslau, *op. cit.*, III, p. 298.

in which these manuscripts are mentioned have not been collected, they are assembled in the following list.

1. *Evangelium abbatis Aligerni* (949–986 A.D.):
  - a. II 3: Fecit etiam (*scil.* Aligernus) . . . textum evangelii undique contextum argento inaurato et smaltis ac gemmis.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of the treasure of Monte Cassino at the time of the death of Victor III (Desiderius), 1087 A.D.]:  
Evangelium abbatis Aligerni.
2. *Evangelium imperatoris Henrici II* (1022/3 A.D.):
  - a. II 43 [after the report of the miraculous healing of the emperor in June 1022 A.D.]:  
Universis (*scil.* monachis) itaque super tanta visione tamque mirabili ac celeri sospitate imperatoris obstupescuntibus pariter et gratulantibus ac Deo laudes et gratias referentibus, obtulit (*scil.* imperator) ipso die imperiali munificentia beato patri Benedicto praesente Romano pontifice (*scil.* Benedicto VIII) quem diximus munera haec: Textum evangelii, de foris quidem ex uno latere adopertum auro purissimo ac gemmis pretiosissimis, abintus vero uncialibus ut aiunt litteris atque figuris aureis mirifice decoratum, . . .
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Evangelium imperatoris.
  - c. IV 90 [list of objects removed by abbot Nicholas 1126/7 A.D., at which time therefore the manuscript left the monastery]:  
Textum evangelii Heinrici imperatoris cum gemmis pretiosis.
3. *Evangelium Stephani papae*:
  - a. II 100 [Inventory of the gifts offered the monastery by abbot Frederick, later pope Stephen X, 1058 A.D.]:  
Haec praeterea sunt quae de Frederici muneribus hoc monasterium tempore diverso recepit. . . . Codicellum evangelii auro gemmisque decoratum.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Evangelium papae Stephani.
4. *Evangelium imperatricis Agnetis*:
  - a. III 31 [list of gifts offered the monastery by the empress during her visit, 1072 A.D.]:  
Obtulit autem beato Benedicto (*scil.* imperatrix) prout augustalem dignitatem decebat dona magnifica, idest. . . . Evangelium cum tabula fusili de argento, opere anaglifo pulcherrime deaurato.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Evangelium imperatricis.
5. *Evangelium abbatis Desiderii*:
  - a. III 63 [list of books written at the order of Desiderius]:  
Evangelium maiorem auro et lapidibus pretiosis ornatum, in quo has reliquias posuit: de ligno Domini, et de vestimentis sancti Johannis evangelistae.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Evangelium ipsius.
6. *ib.*: Duo evangelia fratris Firmi.

7. *Epistularia duo*:
  - a. III 18 [list of works executed by Desiderius 1058–1071 A.D.]:  
Librum quoque epistolarum ad missam describi faciens, tabulis aurea una, altera vero argentea decoravit.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Epistularia duo, unum cum tabula aurea, aliud cum tabulis argenteis.
  - c. IV 90 [see *supra*, no. 2 c]:  
Epistolarium aureum Desiderii abbatis.
8. *Sacramentoria duo*:
  - a. III 18 [see *supra*, no. 7 a]:  
. . . deforis argento vestivit. Similiter fecit et de sacramentoriis altaris uno et altero. . . .
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Duo sacramentoria cum argento.
9.
  - a. III 18 [see *supra*, no. 7 a]:  
Codicem etiam regulae beati Benedicti pulchro nimis opere deintus computum deforis argento vestivit.
  - b. III 74 [inventory of 1087 A.D.; see *supra*, no. 1 b]:  
Regulam sancti Benedicti cum tabulis argenteis.
10. The key passage, in the inventory of Victor III, 1087 A.D. III 74 — see *supra*, no. 1 b — is here repeated:  
Evangelium ipsius (cf. no. 5 b), Evangelium imperatoris (cf. no. 2 b), Evangelium papae Stephani (cf. no. 3 b), Evangelium imperatricis (cf. no. 4 b), Duo evangelia fratris Firmi (cf. no. 6), Evangelium abbatis Aligerni (cf. no. 1 b), Duo sacramentoria cum argento (cf. no. 8 b), Epistularia duo, unum cum tabula aurea, aliud cum tabulis argenteis (cf. no. 7 b), Regulam sancti Benedicti cum tabulis argenteis (cf. no. 9 b).  
The inventory is introduced by the following words:  
Ista praeterea ornamenta idem papa Victor ad mortem suam in hoc monasterio dereliquit; quae omnia fere post dedicationem ecclesiae [slightly incorrect statement], partim ipse cum fratribus huius coenobii acquisivit, partim ab aliis in pignore posita recollegit.

This list does not require much comment. The particular importance which must be assigned to the inventory of the treasure drawn up at Victor III's (abbot Desiderius') death in 1087 (no. 10) is obvious. Every single object mentioned before recurs in this list, from which we may conclude that the treasure-room of the monastery then boasted no other manuscripts so magnificent as these, both from the point of view of binding and from that of illumination. This conclusion is fully confirmed by what we know about other imperial gifts made during the period between Henry II's visit and Victor III's death. On the occasion of their visits to Monte Cassino, both Conrad II (in 1038) and Henry III (in 1047) offered gifts to St. Benedict: Conrad II gave a cover for the altar, Henry III a liturgical garment and gold.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 63: "Posuit deinde (*scil.* Conrad II) super altarium beati

No. 2 in the preceding list is, as we see, the gospel book given by Henry II in 1022/3. It is mentioned again in the inventory of 1087 and then in 1126/7 when it was removed by abbot Nicholas and thus disappeared from the monastery.

In his *Beneventan Script* E. A. Lowe made the observation that the gospel book of Henry II (Cod. Vat. Ottob. Lat. 74), written in Ratisbon after Henry's coronation and consequently belonging to the years 1014–1024, has on fol. 176<sup>v</sup> an omission supplied in the margin in Beneventan character and that the same hand added *passim* the 2-shaped suprascript interrogation-sign – a Beneventan feature *par excellence*, in Lowe's phrase. He rightly concluded that the manuscript was once in Monte Cassino, and referring to the two passages 2 b and c, but not to the decisive passage 2 a, in our list, he called the manuscript "probably one of the royal gifts to Monte Cassino" . . . "made during the generation when two of its abbots, Richerius (1038–1055) and Frederick of Lorraine (1056–1058) were Germans."<sup>51</sup> Lowe's fundamental discovery without which the present discussion would have been impossible can now be developed further: the Vat. Ottob. 74 is the very gospel book which Henry II presented to Monte Cassino soon after his visit in June 1022. Although this is an undisputable fact which needs no further proof, it will do no harm to state that further proof does indeed exist.

It has long been noticed that the decoration of the initials in Monte Cassino was influenced under abbot Desiderius by initials in manuscripts belonging to the school of Ratisbon. Lowe went even so far as to say that there can be no doubt that the Ottobon. 74 itself served as a model to the miniaturist of the Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202, the most famous illuminated Monte Cassino manuscript of the period of Desiderius.<sup>52</sup> These influences which extend to two other Desiderian manuscripts as well will be discussed in connection with the activities of the great abbot in the field of art (*infra*, pp. 202 ff.).

The most interesting problem that faces us now is to attempt to dis-

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Benedicti coopertorium purpureum, aureo friso ad mensuram ulnae unius in circuitu adornatum." II 78: ". . . (Henry III) planetam purpuream optimam auro ac gemmis ornatam super altare posuit; in capitulo vero auri libras aliquot fratribus obtulit." (This seems to be the original text of Leo; cf. the apparatus criticus of Wattenbach, *MG.*, SS., VII, p. 683).

<sup>51</sup> *Benev. Script*, pp. 241, 260, 299; *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68.

<sup>52</sup> The relationship between the initials in the illuminated manuscripts of the Ratisbon school and certain initials of Monte Cassino manuscripts of the Desiderian period was first recognized by F. v. Baldass, "Zur Initialornamentik der süditalienischen Nationalschrift," *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Kl. der kais. Akad. der Wiss., Wien*, XLVIII (1911), pp. 290–298. Lowe, *Benev. Script*, p. 299, n. 1. More definite, but without proofs: A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930), pp. 76 f. See *infra*, p. 202.

cover any evidence in the gospel book which may indicate that it was destined for Monte Cassino. The manuscript has been thoroughly described by G. Swarzenski, a description which is the more valuable in that at the time of his inquiry the history of the gospel book was still unknown.<sup>53</sup> Apart from the canon tables, the decoration is limited to the beautiful initials for each of the four gospels and to the representations of the first three evangelists; the picture of the fourth, St. John, is replaced by that of the emperor (Fig. 221). The explanation of this singular fact which was given by Swarzenski is valid in the light of the new knowledge about the manuscript.<sup>54</sup> It is surprising, he states, that the picture of the emperor does not, as is the rule in dedicatory pictures, precede the text and its illustrations, but is found in the text, and indeed takes the place assigned to the evangelist St. John. In other words, the picture of the emperor has superseded that of the author of this gospel. There must have been peculiar reasons for that. Almost the only possible explanation is that, because of some unknown fact, the purpose for which the manuscript was originally intended was abandoned, and, shortly before its artistic decoration was finished, the manuscript was prepared for the special use of the emperor. Either the emperor needed the manuscript urgently for himself, e.g. in order to present somebody with it, or the monastery wished to offer the manuscript to the emperor on some sudden occasion, for which no provision had been made. There was no time to put the picture of the emperor at the beginning of the completed work. Therefore the representation of

<sup>53</sup> G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 123–128, pl. XIX–XXI. Cf. moreover, St. Beissel, *Vatikanische Miniaturen*, Freiburg, 1893, pp. 35–36, pl. XVIII and *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1906), pp. 263–264. M. Kemmerich, *Die frühmittelalterliche Porträtmalerei in Deutschland bis zur Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1907), pp. 78 and 96. A. Gaudenzi, “Il tempio della Giustizia a Ravenna e a Bologna e il luogo in esso tenuto dal diritto lombardo,” *Mél. Fitting*, II (Montpellier, 1908), pp. 701 ff., the same, *Arch. palaeograf. ital.*, IV, fasc. 35 (1911), pl. 35–38 and *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIV (1911), p. 280. Lowe, *op. cit.* (in n. 51). P. E. Schramm, “Das Herrscherbild in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters,” *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1922/3, vol. I, pp. 145–224, esp. p. 193, n. 162. E. F. Bange, *Eine bayerische Malerschule des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1923), pp. 50 ff. A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II (New York, 1928), p. 21 and pl. 78. P. E. Schramm, “Umstrittene Kaiserbilder aus dem 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert,” *Neues Archiv*, XLVII, 1928, pp. 469–494, esp. pp. 481–482. P. E. Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 46), pp. 112–113, 198, fig. 86. A. Boeckler, *op. cit.* (in n. 52), pp. 49, 77. F. Rademacher, “Eine Krone Kaiser Ottos II.,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwiss.*, I (1934), pp. 79–94, esp. pp. 89–90. K. Strecker, *MG., Poet. lat. med. aev.*, V, 2 (1939), p. 419, no. 19 (this reference is due to Professor Koehler). The manuscript left Monte Cassino as early as 1126/7 (*supra*, p. 180) and about 1500 was in the bishopric of Liège, possibly in the monastery of St. Servatius in Maestricht (but this is a mere conjecture of Beissel, *Vat. Min.*, p. 35).

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

the last evangelist, which had not yet been begun, was omitted and replaced with that of the emperor. This explanation fits admirably with the actual situation which we know now: as soon as the emperor returned to Germany, probably in the late autumn of 1022, he ordered a gospel book to be prepared at St. Emmeram in Ratisbon that he might present it to Monte Cassino. At that time there was a book being executed there. Since the emperor was in a hurry, the manuscript was finished in the way explained above. This means, incidentally, that the date of the Ottobon. 74 is definitely fixed at about 1022, instead of between 1014 (cf. *infra*, p. 183) and 1024.

The strange position of the picture of the emperor would alone be sufficient to evoke our special interest. There is a probability *a priori* that this picture reflects the emperor's intentions more distinctly than was usual. But the reality goes far beyond what we could expect. This picture is a unique political document, a piece of imperial propaganda in fact without a counterpart among the monuments of the eleventh century.

Swarzenski's description<sup>55</sup> and the illustration here given (Fig. 221) make it possible to concentrate on the points which are essential for the interpretation. The portrait of the emperor, placed in the central circle, is surrounded by the inscription:

Imperii solio fulget Heinricus avito  
Caesar et Augustus trabeali munere dignus.

It should never have been doubted that he is Henry II.<sup>56</sup> The identification becomes certain if one compares the other representations of this emperor of which an unusual number are preserved. Like the portraits of Otto II, Otto III, Conrad II, and Henry III, or even to a higher degree, they show the individual characteristics which mark the portrait of each of these emperors as a definite type. It is simply impossible for an unbiased observer to confuse a portrait of Henry II with those of Otto III or Henry III.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 126-127. Cf. the studies listed in n. 53. The picture of Henry II is reproduced in Beissel, *Vat. Min.*, pl. XVIII, Gaudenzi, *loc. cit.* (*Arch. pal.*), pl. 36, Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. 78 (Fig. 221), Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 46), fig. 86. Latest edition of the verses: Strecker, *op. cit.* (in n. 53), p. 438, no. 19, IV.

<sup>56</sup> Schramm very rightly noticed that *solio . . . avito* fits only for Henry II, who was the great-grandson of Henry I, not for Henry III (*Neues Archiv*, XLVII (1928), p. 482). To corroborate Schramm's observation it may be added that in the dedicatory verses of the Sacramentary of Henry II (Munich, Cod. Lat. 4456, Cim. 60), which also is a work of Ratisbon (before 1014), the same idea occurs:

Ecce coronatur divinitus atque beatur  
rex pius Heinricus *proavorum stirpe polosus*.

(cf. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 72; Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 434, no. 12, I).

<sup>57</sup> The rich illustrative material which is now easily accessible in Schramm's work substantiates what is said in the text. Unbiased scholarship meets with many difficulties in the



Since Henry II is called "Caesar" and "Augustus" and "Imperium" is mentioned, the manuscript is definitely dated after his coronation in Rome in 1014. The organization of the page is closely akin to that of the miniatures in the Uta Gospels which belong to the same period and to the same school, a similarity which extends to the symbolism of the page as a whole. In both manuscripts, the symbolic figures are intimately related to each other, and by representing a plurality, the artist wishes to express and to stress a unity: in the present case the idea of Justice.<sup>58</sup>

In the upper left *Iustitia* stands with the balance which she holds in the same fashion as the *Iustitia* of the Uta Gospels;<sup>59</sup> in the upper right *Pietas* is represented. In the compartment above the emperor the Dove of the Holy Ghost flies down toward him; the emperor is flanked at the left and the right by the personifications of *Sapientia* and *Prudentia*, of which the latter also appears in the Uta codex together with *Iustitia*.<sup>60</sup> In the lower left we see *Lex* characterized by an open book and in the lower right a man in secular costume whose advanced age is indicated by the white

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field of mediaeval portraiture. At the outset of one of the most recent pertinent studies we read: "Für die früh- und hochmittelalterliche Menschendarstellung von Ravenna bis Innocenz III. erfolgt die Identifizierung einer Persönlichkeit nicht durch das Gesicht." (Harald Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Röm. Jahrb. für Kunstgesch.*, III (1939), pp. 228-356, on p. 229). This generalization is neither recent nor isolated. Otherwise a discussion as futile as that about the emperor in the famous gospel book of Munich, Cod. Lat. 4453, Cim. 58 (mentioned *infra*, p. 211), would have been impossible. Cf. G. Leidinger's survey in his official publication *Das sogenannte Evangelarium Ottos III* (Munich, without date), pp. 5-12. After almost two hundred years this discussion was finally decided in favor of Otto III (Schramm, *Jahrb. für Kunstwiss.*, I (1923), pp. 54 ff.). But even so, one finds in a standard work like A. Goldschmidt's *German Illumination*, published in 1928, a reference to the emperor as "probably Otto III" (II, pl. 24). The situation is hardly less deplorable in the case of the Ottobon. 74. Gaudenzi, who locates the origin of the manuscript in Ravenna (!), identified the emperor with Henry IV (*loc. cit.* in n. 53), and connects the picture with the anti-king Rudolf of Swabia, 1077-1080 A.D. (*Mél. Fitting*, II, p. 707), a dating which is excluded, if not for other reasons, by the fact that the manuscript had already been used in Monte Cassino in 1072. Bange's identification with Henry III (*op. cit.*, p. 50) is of the same caliber. He says that it is *a priori* hopeless to try to identify a certain emperor by means of a simple comparison of the extant representations. If this were true, why then did the artist who copied the picture of Charles the Bald in the Codex Aureus in St. Emmeram for the Sacramentary of Henry II in Munich (Cod. Lat. 4456, Cim. 60) change the head, adding the characteristic features of the portrait of Henry II (cf. Schramm, *op. cit.* in n. 46, p. 112)? Schramm certainly merits great credit for his correction of erroneous views (cf., e.g., in the case of the Ottobon. 74 *Neues Archiv*, XLVII, 1928, pp. 481-483, and in general his comprehensive study, quoted in n. 53, *Vorträge d. Bibl. Warb.*, 1922/3, pp. 145-224).

<sup>58</sup> Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 127, 106. See in general his excellent treatment of the Uta Gospels, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 92, pl. XII, fig. 28.

<sup>60</sup> *Prudentia* and *Iustitia* are represented also among the four personifications which decorate the antependium of Basel, Wackernagel, *loc. cit.* (in n. 46), p. 21.

color of his hair and beard and by the T-shaped staff on which he leans his left arm.<sup>61</sup> The inscription *Ius* gives a hint of the meaning of the figure which will become clear after we have considered the most interesting scene below the emperor. There a man is represented kneeling, his arms imploringly raised as much toward the emperor as toward the man standing before him; what he holds in his hands can hardly be anything but a chain.<sup>62</sup> The standing man is about to draw his sword and lifts up his eyes to the emperor as if expecting his last decision. The obvious meaning of the scene is confirmed by the inscription around it:

Caesaris ad nutum dampnant Lex Iusque tyrannum.

Very appropriately reference is made in this verse to the two figures at the right and the left of the scene: *Lex* and *Ius* condemn the "tyrant" at the emperor's nod. This gives the clue for the interpretation of the man in the right corner: *Ius* must stand for *iudex* or rather *iudices*; the man is obviously a judge.<sup>63</sup> The verse which concludes the picture below serves to emphasize once more the essential unity of the whole:

Discernant leges Pietas Iustitia mites.

Thus in the two verses below the emperor all four personifications, *Iustitia*, *Pietas*, *Lex* and *Ius*, are mentioned. Yet a further personification, *Clementia*, though absent from the picture, seems to be implied in the word *mites* in the last verse.

There is in the picture a distinct trend from the sphere of pure abstraction in the upper part toward a certain concreteness in the lower section, which culminates in the execution scene. This concreteness was evidently felt by Swarzenski. He raises the question whether the word "tyrannus" does not point to a political crime and whether an actual political event, the suppression of an influential rebel, may have underlain the picture and perhaps the destination of the whole manuscript for the emperor.<sup>64</sup> This

<sup>61</sup> Professor Koehler called my attention to the frequent appearance of this staff in manuscripts of the Echternach School: a good analogy (an elderly man) is e.g. in the Codex Aureus in the Escorial, Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 61 = Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1933), fig. 115.

<sup>62</sup> Thus Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 127, Schramm, *Neues Archiv*, XLVII (1928), p. 483. The object is red.

<sup>63</sup> This is also Schramm's opinion, *op. cit.*, p. 113. The man's gesture is in agreement with this interpretation; cf. in general, K. v. Amira, *Abhandl. bayer. Akad., philos.-philol. hist. Klasse*, XXIII (1905), p. 178. No analogy for this scene could be found in K. v. Amira's rich collection of material in "Die germanische Todesstrafe," *Abhandl. bayer. Akad., philos.-philol. hist. Klasse*, XXXI, No. 3 (1922). The Ottobon. 74 is not represented in this collection.

<sup>64</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 127. However wrong Gaudenzi's and Bange's suggestions are, in one point both of them are right, namely in adopting Swarzenski's proposal to connect the scene

view is entirely correct and shows again that Swarzenski came as close to the solution of the problem as was possible without knowing of the historical connection between the manuscript and Monte Cassino. This solution presents itself to us now that we possess this knowledge. We have only to return to the account of Henry's intervention in southern Italy given above; its fulness will now be warranted.

Among the local adherents of the Byzantine cause Pandulf of Capua and his brother Atenulf of Monte Cassino had been the most outstanding representatives; both as former vassals of the emperor were rebels in the sense of Swarzenski's statement. Atenulf had escaped punishment by his flight and death, but Pandulf had to bear the emperor's wrath in its whole weight; his trial was a deliberate and spectacular blow against the Byzantine government. The miniaturist could not have summarized these happenings in a more effective way; his verse expresses with perfect clarity the procedure in the trial: the emperor had summoned the tribunal, but the judges and the law had condemned the "tyrannus" Pandulf to death: *Caesaris ad nutum dampnant Lex Iusque tyrannum*.<sup>65</sup> It is most significant to note, at this point, that the word "tyrannus" is repeatedly applied to the same Pandulf by abbot Desiderius as well as by Leo of Ostia, both of whom probably knew eyewitnesses of the trial.<sup>66</sup> The picture renders with bold realism the scene which was to follow the trial and the death sentence: Pandulf expects the mortal blow, but the executioner has not yet drawn his sword; he is about to do it and, like the delinquent, he looks up to the emperor, who raises his left hand in the solemn gesture which precedes and accompanies the decisive pronouncement: death or grace.<sup>67</sup> In every detail the picture agrees with the account of Leo of Ostia. With admiration one notices how the artist was able to say so much with so few

with definite historical events. For Gaudenzi's theory cf. *supra*, n. 57. Bange thinks of the conflict of Henry III with Conrad of Bavaria, in 1054 (*op. cit.*, p. 52). On the other hand, Schramm's abstract interpretation of the picture as a representation of a cardinal problem of mediaeval political theory (*op. cit.* [in n. 46], pp. 112-113), is not based on any argument (cf. also *Neues Archiv*, XLVII (1928), p. 483) and fails to explain the concreteness of the scene below.

<sup>65</sup> The legal form was the so-called *iudicium regale*, the royal tribunal, cf. G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, VI (Kiel, 1896<sup>2</sup>), pp. 583 ff., 589, n. (with special references to the trial of Pandulf), VIII (Kiel, 1878), pp. 5 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Desiderius, *Dial.*, I 9 (MG., SS., XXX, pp. 1122-1123), Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 63. See *infra*, p. 188, n. 76.

<sup>67</sup> This gesture of the left hand is not infrequent in the pictures of the Ratisbon School. It occurs, e.g., in the Uta Gospels, in the picture of St. John, Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 33, and in the little scene in the upper left of the picture of St. Luke, *ibid.*, pl. XVI, fig. 36, an illustration of Luke, II 1: "Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto." The emperor, who appears in profile, holds in the right the ball, the left is raised as the left hand of Henry II, a gesture which obviously stresses the solemn declaration he is just making.

actors. Three figures are sufficient: Pandulf the rebel, the executioner, and above them, but aloof and separated from them, the huge figure of the emperor, *Dei gratia*, visibly God-inspired; and around the scene the personifications. The artist did not confine himself to representing simply an historical event. By his restraint, which prevented him even from identifying the "tyrannus," the emperor's opponent, and by making ample use of symbolic figures, he elevates the scene to the general plane. Thus the picture is weighted with significant meaning the gravity of which could not escape the notice of its recipients. Among them, as the election of 1022 had shown to the emperor beyond any doubt, were the numerous partisans of the late Atenulf and of Pandulf. They especially had to be reminded how the emperor had dealt and would deal with rebels. It was a drastic reminder — as drastic as the emperor's words and action had been when he forced upon the congregation of Monte Cassino his candidate as abbot.

It is highly instructive to compare the picture in the Ottobon. 74 with Donizo of Canossa's famous representation of Henry IV's humiliation in 1077 which has been called the first historical picture preserved from the Middle Ages.<sup>68</sup> Almost a hundred years have passed since the creation of the Gospel Book of Henry II; again we find a three figure group. And yet what a difference! Donizo's *Vita Mathildis* was to be dedicated to the countess Matilda of Tuscany. But unlike the work of the monk of St. Emmeram, Matilda is actually included in the scene, whereas in the picture in the Ottobon. 74 the central position of the emperor and his separation from the scene of execution clearly indicate how much the artist still follows the tradition of the representative picture of the ruler, characteristic of the whole preceding period of mediaeval art. To this extent the present comparison plainly shows how an important historical event influenced the picture of Henry II in the Ottobon. 74, an innovation introduced by the artist into the traditional representation of the emperor.<sup>69</sup>

The close ties which connect the picture of Henry II in the Ottobon. 74 with the Uta Gospels were stressed above (pp. 183 f.). Now we may add that also the introduction of the historical scene into the picture finds its foreshadowing in the Uta codex: there the device of dividing the area of

<sup>68</sup> Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 46), pp. 138 f., 211 f., fig. 113.

<sup>69</sup> The allusion to an actual political event in a miniature is certainly most remarkable at that time. A kind of analogy can be seen in the picture of Henry II as he receives the crown from the hand of God, a representation inscribed in an initial D in the Graduale of Kassel (Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 46), fig. 88). The initial belongs to the week of Pentecost, the week in which Henry's coronation as king had taken place in 1002. The picture therefore is a commemorative representation which refers to one definite historical event. It is significant that this interpretation was given by the same Schramm (*op. cit.*, pp. 113 f., 199, fig. 88) who in the case of the Ottobon. 74 rejected without giving reasons any historical interpretation.

the painting into geometrical patterns is used for surrounding the pictures of the four evangelists with illustrations from the respective gospels. These representations have an historical character inasmuch as they deal with events treated in the gospels. Each cycle refers to a fundamental idea stressed in the gospel to which it belongs.<sup>70</sup> From this procedure it was but a short step to using the same device for representing a contemporary historical event and this is done in the Ottobon. 74.

### 3. THE REESTABLISHMENT OF BYZANTINE INFLUENCE IN CAMPANIA AND THE INTERVENTION OF CONRAD II (1024-1038)

The political significance of the document in question becomes more impressive as soon as one returns to the history of the two decades following Henry II's visit to Monte Cassino. Immediately after his death (July 13, 1024), before Conrad II was elected (September 8, 1024), Pandulf was released, probably with the help of bribery, and returned to Italy. In May 1026 with the assistance of the Greeks sent him by his old protector, the *catapanus* Basilius Bojoannes, he succeeded in reconquering Capua. The count of Teano whom Henry II had installed as prince of Capua and the pro-German archbishop Adenulf had to leave the city.<sup>71</sup> For a few years Pandulf even managed to dominate Naples.<sup>72</sup> In 1032 he lured abbot Theobald to Capua and interned him there in the monastery of St. Benedict. He then installed his creature Theodinus, a lay-brother (*famulus*) in Monte Cassino, as his representative in the abbey, whose only lord he now was.<sup>73</sup> When Theobald died in exile in 1036, the election of a new abbot was postponed until 1037. And so completely were the monks at the mercy of Pandulf that they had to elect the Calabrian monk Basilius, an intimate associate of the prince (*familiarissimus principis*), whom he had made previously prior of the Benedictine monastery in Capua. The election took place in Pandulf's palace in Capua.<sup>74</sup> A privilege offered to Basilius as prior in Capua by the *catapanus* Pothus Argyrus in 1032<sup>75</sup> sheds light on the real nature of the situation: it indicates clearly how close the connections were

<sup>70</sup> Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff., 106.

<sup>71</sup> Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), I 34, p. 45. Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 56. *Ann. Cas. ex ann. ant. excerpti* a. 1025 (*sic*), *MG.*, SS., XXX, p. 1412, notes 6 and 7. Cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 425 f.

<sup>72</sup> Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), I 41, p. 52. Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 56. *Ann. Cas.* a. 1027, *MG.*, SS., XXX, pp. 1414 f.

<sup>73</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 56 ff. Gay's account, *op. cit.*, p. 439 is not correct in all details.

<sup>74</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 61-62. He calls him *familiarissimus principis* in II 56. Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), I 35, p. 47. Cf. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

<sup>75</sup> Archives of Monte Cassino, Caps. XVIII, 1, 9 (original) = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 23, p. 24; copy in *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 142 fol. 66<sup>v</sup> = Lecisotti, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), no. 22, p. 70.

once more between Pandulf and his clique on one hand, and the Byzantine government on the other. The German control of Campania had collapsed everywhere and completely.

Thus when Conrad II intervened in 1038, the conditions in southern Italy closely resembled those in 1022 before Henry II's campaign. History seemed to repeat itself. But whereas at that time Atenulf had had the support of a large part if not of the majority of the congregation, Basilius was universally hated in Monte Cassino. In Milan Conrad received in 1037 a deputation of the exasperated monks who bitterly complained about Pandulf's outrages and imploringly besought the emperor to come at last and to wrest from the hands of such a tyrant the famous monastery of St. Benedict which his ancestors had always revered and kept under their protection.<sup>76</sup> Conrad appeared in Campania in the following spring. As his attempts to induce Pandulf to surrender failed, he conquered Capua on May 14, 1038. Pandulf and his abbot Basilius fled first to the fortress of S. Agata and in 1039 to Constantinople. Constantinople was the basis of operations from which Pandulf again, for the third time, was to play his part. But this does not fall within the scope of the present study.

Conrad gave Capua to Guaimar, prince of Salerno. There was, as in 1022, the problem of succession in the abbey. But this time the monks themselves implored the emperor to give them as abbot "magnum aliquem" in his environment, a man who was able to protect them. Conrad consented to their electing the Bavarian cleric Richer.

Looking back now to the year 1022 and to the picture of the Gospel Book of Henry II, this document becomes a symbol of unique significance for the struggle between the German and Byzantine empires in southern Italy, a struggle which centered about the monastery of Monte Cassino. In 1022, however, the Byzantine empire had reached the peak of its power under the great Basilius II; in 1038 the Byzantine influence in southern Italy was on the decline. A new era was in the making which was marked by the Norman conquest of southern Italy. The Normans brought to an end the Byzantine domination in the south of the peninsula. As a result Byzantium ceased to exercise political influence at Monte Cassino.

The following events which are of world historical importance lead us into the midst of these conflicts.

<sup>76</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 63 (text of the monks' appeal for help): "orantes et supplicantes ut tandem dignaretur venire tamque famosum et beati Benedicti meritis celebre ubique cenobium quod eatenus sui antecessores sub sua tutela reverenter nimis habuerant de tanti tyranni manibus dignaretur eripere." Pandulf is called *tyrannus*; cf. *supra*, n. 66. For the expedition of Conrad cf., besides Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 63, 65, Desiderius, *Dial.*, I 9 and Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), II 5, pp. 61 f.

## III. MONTE CASSINO AND THE SCHISM OF 1054

The irresistible advance of the Normans in southern Italy finally provoked the intervention of the pope. The Roman church had recently been experiencing far-reaching changes. The Reform, which had spread from Cluny all over western and central Europe, had in 1046 installed in the person of Leo IX its first great representative on the papal throne. His closest adviser, Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Silva Candida, was even more than the pope a leading figure of the Reform. In the Roman curia he is the true predecessor of the archdeacon Hildebrand, with the same passionate faith in the primacy of the Roman church. In all the decisive pronouncements of Leo IX one can discern the powerful eloquence, the characteristic style, and the unyielding intransigence, of cardinal Humbert.<sup>77</sup> These men were firmly resolved to regain southern Italy for the Roman church. The extraordinary appointment of cardinal Humbert as archbishop of Sicily<sup>78</sup> together with Leo's repeated journeys to southern Italy and the councils held in Salerno and Siponto (1050) are manifestations of the pope's political intentions. When in 1051 the people of Benevento

<sup>77</sup> It is the merit of Anton Michel to have fully recognized the importance of Humbert by proving him to have been the author of a great number of documents which have come down to us under others' names. Michel's attributions rest on a sound philological and historical basis and are convincing throughout. Most of Michel's works have some bearing on the problems of the present study and, consequently, have been used to a large extent in the following chapter. For the convenience of the reader there follows a list of them in chronological order (in the notes reference is made to the numbers of this list):

- I. *Humbert und Kerullarios*, I (Paderborn, 1925).
- II. Die beiden Fragmente "De sancta Romana ecclesia" des Kardinals Humbert von Silva Candida, in Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 16), II, pp. 120-136; cf. I, pp. 238 f.
- III. *Humbert und Kerullarios*, II (Paderborn, 1930).
- IV. "Die *Accusatio* des Kanzlers Friedrich von Lothringen," *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXXVIII (1930), pp. 153-208.
- V. "Verstreute Kerullarios und Humbert Texte," *ib.*, XXXIX (1931), pp. 355-376.
- VI. "Von Photius zu Kerullarios," *ib.*, XLI (1933), pp. 135-162.
- VII. "Die vier Schriften des Niketas Stethatos über die Azyemen," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXV (1935), pp. 308-336.
- VIII. *Papstwahl und Königsrecht* (Munich, 1936).
- IX. "Amalfi im griechischen Kirchenstreit," *Atti del V Congresso Int. di Studi Bizantini* 1936, I (1939), pp. 32-40.
- X. "Amalfi und Jerusalem im griech. Kirchenstreit (1054-1090)," *Orientalia Christiana Anal.*, CXXI (1939).

On the schism in general cf. now G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, *Byz. Handbuch*, I 2 (Munich, 1940), pp. 224, 235-236.

<sup>78</sup> H.-W. Klewitz, "Studien über die Wiederherstellung der römischen Kirche in Süditalien durch das Reformpapsttum," *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XXV (1933/4), pp. 105-157, esp. 107 f. and 130 where in n. 4 the sources for Humbert's appointment are quoted. In the synod of Rome, May 2, 1050 he is called *Humbertus episcopus Siciliensis*, cf. Kehr, *IP* VIII, p. 9, no. 4. For Leo IX's Norman policy cf. C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), pp. 111 ff.

turned over their city to the pope — a transaction in which Humbert played a decisive part — the clash between the Holy See and the Normans became inevitable, and the only way to meet the imminent danger seemed to be an alliance with Byzantium. This implied *eo ipso* an attempt to restore the union of the two churches. A plan of union was most ardently promoted by Argyrus, the Byzantine governor of southern Italy, who himself belonged to the Roman church. For this very reason it was violently opposed by Michael Cerullarius, patriarch of Constantinople, a shrewder and more ruthless politician than the leaders of the Roman church.<sup>79</sup> It was he who instigated in 1053 a spiteful attack in a treatise, written by archbishop Leo of Ochrida, assailing the Latin church on theological grounds, chiefly the questions of the use of unleavened bread (azymes) and the addition of *filioque* in the Roman creed.<sup>80</sup> Humbert of Silva Candida wrote in the name of the pope an answering letter to Michael Cerullarius, and then produced a special treatise, the *Dialogus*, which was transmitted to the Greeks in Italy by Nicolas, archbishop of Bari, always an intermediary between Latins and Greeks, and Basilius, ex-abbot of Monte Cassino, who after his deposition in 1038 had become abbot of St. Benedict in Salerno.<sup>81</sup> But meanwhile the crusade which Leo IX had organized and led against the Normans had ended with a crushing defeat of the pope at Civitate in 1053. This event discredited at Constantinople the anti-Roman attitude of Cerullarius, and thus brought to power the party of Argyrus. The plan of union and alliance with the pope was now openly favored by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus. Cerullarius was forced to sign a conciliatory letter written by the emperor to Leo IX which suggested that the pope should send an embassy to Constantinople to settle all pending difficulties.<sup>82</sup> The pope agreed and appointed as legates Humbert of Silva Candida, Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, and the papal chancellor Frederick of Lorraine, who three years later was to become abbot of Monte Cassino. The fate of this famous legation is known to us in every detail.<sup>83</sup> The temper of the three leading figures in the controversy, Humbert, Frederick, and Michael Cerullarius, made the course of events in Constantinople highly dramatic. They

<sup>79</sup> Michel I, p. 34. M. Jugie, "Le schisme de Michel Cérulaire," *Échos d'Orient*, XXXVI (1937), p. 441. W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin 1903), p. 21.

<sup>80</sup> On Leo of Ochrida's attack see Jugie, *loc. cit.*, p. 443. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 22. Michel VII, p. 310. I, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> Michel I, pp. 44 f., 81. II, pp. 320, 298 f., 301. Jugie, *loc. cit.*, p. 454, esp. n. 4, is not quite clear. For Basilius as abbot of St. Benedict of Salerno see *Chron. Cas.* II 69. Kehr, *IP VIII*, p. 364.

<sup>82</sup> Jugie, *loc. cit.*, pp. 448 f. Michel I, p. 57. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 487 ff.

<sup>83</sup> Jugie, *loc. cit.*, pp. 451 ff. Norden, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff. Michel I, pp. 57 ff.



had brought with them letters strongly attacking the patriarch's position and forcing him to oppose stubbornly whatever the legates did. Thus the conclusion of an agreement was hopeless from the first. In Leo IX's first letter to Cerullarius, Humbert had made great use of the Constantinian donation, implying that Constantine IX owed his crown to the Roman church.<sup>84</sup> Here too Humbert had only one aim, the primacy of the Roman church over the entire world. Nicetas, a monk of Studion, launched in his *Διαλέξεις* a first assault against the Roman legates, and especially against the *Dialogus*. On June 24, 1054, a discussion took place in the monastery of Studion between the Roman legates and the representatives of the Greek church. First there were read two pamphlets by Humbert attacking Nicetas; then the chancellor Frederick pronounced an invective against the patriarch, even demanding the removal of his name from the diptychs.<sup>85</sup> This attack had immediate success. Constantine Monomachus himself compelled Nicetas to burn his treatise,<sup>86</sup> but the discord became more and more serious. The climax was reached on July 15, when the Roman legates appeared in Hagia Sophia during the service and placed on the high altar the bull excommunicating the patriarch. At the door of the church they shook the dust from their shoes. Then they left Constantinople, while Michael Cerullarius stirred the hatred of the people against the Latins. On July 20 he laid the legates under anathema. The schism was definitive.<sup>87</sup>

The legates had visited Monte Cassino on their journey to Constantinople. Now on their return they brought to the monastery a grant from the emperor Constantine Monomachus, a pension of two pounds of gold to be paid to the monastery each year. It is the first donation of this kind to the monastery of which we know.<sup>88</sup>

Frederick of Lorraine then entered in 1055 the monastery of Monte

<sup>84</sup> Michel I, pp. 33, 61. G. Laehr, *Die konstantinische Schenkung in der abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (1926), pp. 24 f. Schramm, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 122, 124. Klewitz, *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XXV (1933/4), p. 130 and *Gött. gel. Anz.* (1936), p. 536.

<sup>85</sup> A fragment of Frederick's *Accusatio* is still preserved: Michel IV, pp. 162-171.

<sup>86</sup> Michel IV, pp. 180, 202, Jugie, *loc. cit.*, p. 459.

<sup>87</sup> Jugie, *loc. cit.*, pp. 459 ff. Cf. on the schism, besides the writings of Michel, L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental du XI siècle* (Paris, 1899), and *Cambridge Med. Hist.*, IV, 1923, pp. 265-273, A. A. Vasiliev, *Hist. de l'emp. Byz.*, I (1932), pp. 446-448. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.* (in n. 77), p. 236.

<sup>88</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 85 mentions the stay of the legates in Monte Cassino. The donation of Constantine IX was added by Petrus Diaconus, apparently, in his usual manner, on the basis of a document inserted in his *Reg. Petri Diac.* as no. 144. This document is unpublished and not even mentioned by Dölger, *op. cit.*, II (1925), no. 915, p. 11, where reference is made only to the passage in the *Chron. Cas.* Inguanez, *loc. cit.* (in n. 3), p. 383, n. 44, mentions it in a footnote without saying that it is unedited (see *supra*, p. 167, n. 6).

Cassino in order to escape the fury of the German emperor Henry III, who suspected that he had been engaged in correspondence with his brother Gotfrey of Lorraine, the emperor's bitter enemy. Thus one of the chief representatives of the Cluniac Reform began to influence Monte Cassino. This influence became overwhelming when cardinal Humbert in 1057 interfered in the government of the monastery, causing the abdication of the abbot Peter and the election of Frederick of Lorraine, formerly his fellow-legate. Thus Humbert asserted – and this time successfully – the primacy of Rome even in the internal affairs of the monasteries.<sup>89</sup> Only a few weeks later Frederick became pope, calling himself Stephen IX. To succeed him at his death as abbot of Monte Cassino he named the Beneventan noble Desiderius, who was his personal friend and who had entered Monte Cassino in 1055, the same year as Frederick himself. Stephen IX resumed as pope the anti-Norman policy of his former master Leo IX, which had been abandoned in the intervening pontificate of Victor II (1054–1057). The situation of 1054 seemed to repeat itself. Again a legation aimed at an alliance with the Byzantine empire was dispatched to Constantinople; again a future abbot of Monte Cassino, Desiderius, was a member of the legation; and again two cardinals accompanied him. But while a storm kept the legates in Bari, the news of the death of Stephen IX, pope and abbot of Monte Cassino, reached them on April 12, 1058.<sup>90</sup> Desiderius now felt himself free to return. On the way to his monastery he reversed the policy of his predecessor and initiated the new policy which was to prevail in Monte Cassino for the next century: he opened friendly relations with the Norman Robert Guiscard, against whom he had been supposed to contrive an alliance.<sup>91</sup> This act is the first evidence of a political realism which occasionally made Desiderius suspect to men like Gregory VII or archbishop Hugh of Lyon.

The important part thus played by its two abbots in the decisive controversy between the Eastern and Western churches was not without its effect on Monte Cassino. A collection of the pamphlets written concerning the schism of 1053/4 was in the library of Monte Cassino about a century later when Peter the Deacon composed his *Altercatio contra Graecum quendam*. In this he made much use of the treatises of cardinal Humbert.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 86–92. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 507 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* II 94 and 96. III 9. Kehr, *IP VIII*, p. 140, no. 82. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 512, 514.

<sup>91</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 9. F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, I (Paris, 1907), p. 146. R. Palmarocchi, *L'abbazia di Montecassino e la conquista normanna* (Rome, 1913), p. 73. Erdmann, *op. cit.* (in n. 78), p. 115.

<sup>92</sup> Michel X, pp. 7, 50–52. The *Altercatio* is published in *Miscellanea Cassinese*, I (1897), pp. 10–32; cf. also Caspar, *op. cit.* (in n. 4), p. 199.

The question of the azymes or unleavened bread had been from the start one of the most important ritualistic points of dispute between the Eastern and Western churches. It appears prominently in the pamphlet written in 1053 by Leo, archbishop of Ochrida, the opening gun, as we have seen, in the controversy which led eventually to schism. Long after the schism itself this question interested those engaged in polemics on both sides. In 1070 a certain Laycus of Amalfi wrote a treatise on the subject, and in 1107–1111 St. Bruno, bishop of Segni and abbot of Monte Cassino, used it as the basis for his treatise *De sacrificio azymo* addressed to the prior of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Constantinople.<sup>93</sup> Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that another manuscript of Monte Cassino preserves a fragment of still another treatise, this time on the *filioque*: the original work *De processione spiritus sancti contra Graecos*, which Peter Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan, read in 1112 in Constantinople before the emperor Alexius I Comnenus.<sup>94</sup> Peter the Deacon's *Altercatio*, compiled about 1140, is thus entirely in the tradition, and is its last representative.

Thus, before, during, and after the period of the schism men of Monte Cassino were important in action and in polemical discussion. The prominence of Monte Cassino in the controversy between the Eastern and Western churches was a rather natural result of the geographical situation of the monastery, but even more of its steadily growing importance. The episode of St. Nilus at the end of the tenth century appears in this light as a prelude to the great events of the middle of the eleventh century.

#### IV. BYZANTIUM AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF MONTE CASSINO UNDER ABBOT DESIDERIUS

##### I. THE SUMMONING OF BYZANTINE ARTISTS TO MONTE CASSINO AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BASILICA

The first act of Desiderius as abbot of Monte Cassino had been to assure himself of the protection of the new Norman rulers of southern Italy. The reconciliation of the very next year, 1059, between the Normans and pope Nicolas II, is certainly due chiefly to his efforts.<sup>95</sup> The results of this policy

<sup>93</sup> Michel X, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>94</sup> A. Amelli, "Due sermoni inedite di Pietro Grosolano, arcivescovo di Milano," *Fontes Ambrosiani*, IV (1933), pp. 6 ff. and *Bibl. Cas.* (Floril. Cas.) IV (Monte Cassino, 1880), pp. 351–358. Inguanez, *Cat. cod. Cas.*, II, 1, pp. 23 f. and *loc. cit.* (in n. 3), p. 381. Ch. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927<sup>a</sup>), p. 195.

<sup>95</sup> Kehr, *IP* VIII, pp. 11–12, no. 14–16 with the earlier literature; in addition cf.

were contrary to the political interests of Byzantium. None the less, Desiderius' relations with the government in Constantinople were excellent. When he decided to rebuild the whole abbey, and especially the basilica of St. Benedict, he not only ordered works of art in Constantinople, but he also summoned thence a great number of artists, both to execute works themselves and to teach the monks the arts in which the Byzantines were supposed to be the greatest masters of their time. In all these efforts, Desiderius was supported by the emperor Romanos IV who proved to be most helpful to him when his agent came to Constantinople to have works of art executed there.<sup>96</sup>

In 1065 Desiderius had seen in the cathedral of Amalfi bronze doors donated by Pantaleon, a member of a most distinguished family of that city. They had been made in Constantinople. Desiderius placed an order there for similar ones to adorn the basilica of St. Benedict; Mauro, the aged father of Pantaleon, declared himself ready to bear the expense. These doors are still preserved, with alterations dating from the beginning of the twelfth century. They are purely Byzantine work; the panels are inscribed with the names of the possessions of the monastery, two of them with the dedication of Mauro, dated 1066.<sup>97</sup>

In the same year the grandiose transformation of the church was started. Five years later, on October 1, 1071, the new basilica was inaugurated by pope Alexander II, one of the most brilliant events in the history of the eleventh century. We are unusually well informed about these activities of Desiderius, for the poet Alphanus, Desiderius' close friend and archbishop of Salerno, wrote two poems in which he praised the basilica, and Leo, cardinal of Ostia, the historian of the monastery, has left a mono-

Klewitz, *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XXV (1933/4), pp. 130 f. and especially Michel VIII (*supra*, p. 189, n. 77), pp. 52-54.

<sup>96</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 27 and 32; for these and the following references from the *Chron. Cas.* cf. J. v. Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Wien, 1896), pp. 200 ff. and O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen und Italien* (Berlin, 1938), no. 2274 ff., pp. 475 ff. Both omitted Amatus of Monte Cassino, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), III 52, p. 175, an important passage because of the mention of Alexandria and the Saracens: "Et pour ce qu'il non trova in Ytalie homes de cert art, manda en Costentinoble et en Alixandre pour homes grex et sarrazins; pour aorner lo pavement de la eglise de marbre entaillié et diverses peintures; laquelle nous clamons 'opere de mosy'; ovre de pierre de diverses colors." Cf. É. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1903), pp. 176, 163. Concerning the two important poems of Alphanus of Salerno see n. 98.

<sup>97</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.*, III 18 (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2843, p. 675), Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 f. Th. Preston Jr., *The Bronze Doors of the Abbey of Monte Cassino and of St. Paul's Rome*, diss. (Princeton, 1915). A. Hofmeister, "Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comititis Mauronis in Amalfi," *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXVII (1932), pp. 249 f.

graph on the dedication of the basilica, besides the very clear and detailed account which he gave in the Chronicle.<sup>98</sup> The list of eminent guests preserved by Leo and by a bull of Alexander II<sup>99</sup> shows more clearly than anything else how important the dedication of the new basilica appeared to contemporaries, and above all how influential the monastery had become: the pope, the archdeacon Hildebrand – the most powerful man in the curia – Petrus Damiani, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, the cardinal-bishops of Portus, Tusculum, and Sabina, the whole clergy of southern Italy under the leadership of Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno, some of the most distinguished bishops of central Italy, all the Norman princes with the exception of Robert Guiscard, who was besieging Palermo. It is the zenith of the splendor of Monte Cassino. Two magnificent illuminated manuscripts, the already mentioned Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202 and the Cod. Cas. 99 (*supra*, p. 180, *infra*, pp. 201 ff.), which originated about 1071/2 in Monte Cassino, bear witness of this splendor.

There exists a further remarkable testimony to the fame which Monte Cassino had acquired all over the world under Desiderius. It is the diploma by which the emperor Michael VII Dukas in 1076 granted the monastery an annual pension of twenty-three pounds of gold and four pallia.<sup>100</sup> In this diploma he says:

The most celebrated and famous church built in the name of our holy father Benedict in Italy, because it is most venerable and sacred, is praised, propagated, and cultivated in the West as well as in the East, not only for its splendor and riches, but even more for the virtues of its present abbot, our father, and his pupils.

The obvious allusion to the new buildings of Desiderius is noteworthy; it was known in Constantinople how much Byzantine artists had contributed to the decoration of the basilica.

None of the buildings of Desiderius in Monte Cassino has survived.

<sup>98</sup> Alphanus, Migne, *PL*, CXLVII, pp. 1234–1238 (*De Casino monte*) (Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2282, p. 481, is incomplete and lacks the name of the author), and *Neues Archiv*, X (1885), pp. 356 f.; cf. M. Inganez and M. Avery, *Miniature Cassinesi del sec. XI illustranti la vita di S. Benedetto* (Monte Cassino, 1934), p. 1. On its authorship cf. Manitius, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), II (1923), pp. 627, 634. (In addition, this poem is cited by Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2281, p. 480 and classed as anonymous). Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 29 (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2280, p. 480) and Cod. Cas. 47: Migne, *PL*, CLXXIII, pp. 997 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Kehr, *IP* VIII, p. 144, no. 103.

<sup>100</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 145 fol. 67 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 47, p. 62, cf. Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* III 39; Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1006, p. 20. The Latin text of the passage translated runs as follows: "Verum celeberrima et famosissima ecclesia constructa in nomine beatissimi patris nostri Benedicti sita Italis finibus propter esse eam admodum venerantissimam et sacerrimam non solum in oris occiduis verum etiam in eo laudatur, propagatur et excolitur nec ornatu et divitiis tantum verum potius virtutibus abbatis nunc in ea existentis Desiderii, patris nostri imperii, discipulorumque eius."

Ground plans of the Renaissance architect Sangallo and of the learned eighteenth-century historian of Monte Cassino, Gattola, have made it possible to reconstruct the monastery and particularly the basilica, a task which has been successfully undertaken by Kenneth Conant and H. M. Willard.<sup>101</sup> The architecture of the basilica goes back to that of the old Christian basilica, a very appropriate artistic expression of the program of the Reform. As an outstanding monument of architecture, the basilica of Desiderius exercised a strong influence on numerous buildings which still exist.<sup>102</sup>

While the architecture of the church is western in origin and character, its decoration was done under the direction of Byzantine artists. They themselves executed the mosaics and the pavements of the basilica. A considerable part of the pavement which decorated the nave was still preserved in 1713 when a drawing of it was executed for Gattola's work (Fig. 222). A pavement of similar type can be seen even to-day in the sacristy.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> H. M. Willard and K. J. Conant, "A Project for the Graphic Reconstruction of the Romanesque Abbey at Monte Cassino," *Speculum*, X (1935), pp. 144-146 with earlier literature. K. J. Conant, *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture* (Baltimore, 1942), pp. 7-8, pl. V.

<sup>102</sup> In a passage which is never quoted in this connection, Amatus of Monte Cassino, Desiderius' contemporary, expressly says how great the influence of this monument was, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 43), III 52, p. 176: "Et par exemple de cestui abbé (*scil.* Desiderius), molt s'efforcerent de appareiller lor choses en la manière qu'il faisoit; et gardoient à sa maistrise aucuns à faire bel hedifice, et se delittoient de lor habitation adorer." Cf. in general Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 169; R. Krautheimer, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX (1934), pp. 16, 19; cf. Willard, *loc. cit.*, p. 146; H. Thümmel, "Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrh. in Italien," *Röm. Jahrb. f. Kunstg.*, III (1939), p. 210, and especially R. Krautheimer, *Art Bull.*, XXIV (1942), p. 28, n. 168 and Conant, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>103</sup> Gattola, *Hist.* (see *supra*, n. 1), I, pl. 6 (= Fig. 222) = Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 175, pl. V; the pavement of the sacristy was attributed to the time of Desiderius by Bertaux, *loc. cit.*, G. B. De Rossi and A. L. Frothingham, Jr., *Am. Journ. of Archaeol.*, X (1895), p. 195. Insufficient illustrations of this pavement are: A. Jahn Rusconi, *Monte Cassino* (Bergamo, 1929) (*Italia artistica*, vol. 100), p. 73 and *Enciclop. Ital.*, Vol. XXX (1936), s. v. Sacristia, p. 424, pl. CVIII. It was declared a "pseudo-alessandrino" of the Renaissance by G. Giovannoni on the ground that the sacristy rests on piers belonging to the Quattrocento ("Rilievi ed opere architettoniche del cinquecento a Montecassino," *Casinensia*, II, 1929, p. 329). Giovannoni's verdict was taken up by E. Scaccia Scarafoni in his article "Note su fabbriche ed opere d'arte medioevale a Montecassino," *Boll. d'arte*, XXX (1936), pp. 97-121, esp. 109 and 121, n. 22, where he attributes the pavement to the year 1544 on the authority of the chronicler Petrucci whose work is not printed; but he failed to quote the passage in question even in the following article in which he makes ample use of the literary tradition regarding the building activity of the sixteenth century in Monte Cassino, "Architetture cinquecentesche in Montecassino," *Boll. d'arte*, XXXII (1938), pp. 9-24, esp. p. 15 (cf. G. Giovannoni, *Palladio*, II, 1938, pp. 192-194). While it is fair to suspend a decision in this matter until real evidence is produced — also in the form of a satisfactory photograph — by the followers of Giovannoni's opinion, a definite stand can and must be taken against Scaccia Scarafoni's arbitrary methods in handling the other mosaics of Monte Cassino, particularly the geometrical pavement in the nave of the basilica which we know only from Gattola's drawing. He assigns it to the period of pope Urban IV and abbot Bernard I (i.e. to the years 1263-1264) because a lily and a rosette found in it are interpreted as the device of that pope (*Boll. d'arte*, XXX,

Comparison with the remains of the original pavement of Hagia Sophia shows close resemblances.<sup>104</sup> The same is true if one compares the pavements of eleventh century churches like St. Luke in Phocis or Nea Moni in Chios (Fig. 223), which are only a few decades earlier than those of Monte Cassino,<sup>105</sup> or that of the church of S. Mennas in S. Agata dei Goti (between Benevento and Capua) which was dedicated in 1110 (Fig. 224).<sup>106</sup>

In front of the high-altar of the church of Monte Cassino was a pavement which contained slabs of marble with figures of a dog or a fox, the silhouettes being filled with a chequer of squares of colored marble; two of the slabs survive (Fig. 225).<sup>107</sup> A glance at the analogous mosaics of S. Adriano in S. Demetrio Corone in Calabria dating from about 1100 (Fig. 226) gives us an idea of the way in which these slabs were probably displayed, inserted in a geometric pavement like that in the nave of the basil-

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1936, pp. 118 f. [with ill.]) — as if both, lily and rosette, did not belong to the most common elements of decoration; for Monte Cassino cf. e.g. the lily shaped ornaments on the sarcophagus of the Entombment and on the fountain of the Healing of the Blind in Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 230 and De Jerphanion, *loc. cit.* [*infra*, n. 114], pl. 54, 2). He is followed, apparently, by A. Pantoni, "Problemi archeologici cassinesi," *Riv. arch. crist.*, XVI (1939), pp. 271-288, on p. 275, n. 2. Before advancing so bold an hypothesis Scaccia Scarafoni should have provided at least one certain contemporary example before Boniface VIII of an emblem of a pope on a monument. On p. 118 he has reproduced the pavement of S. Liberatore alla Maiella (now in the church of Serramonacesca) laid by the above mentioned abbot Bernard Ayglerio of Montecassino in 1275. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 177, had rightly pointed out that this pavement is still under the influence of the mosaic of Montecassino, however simplified it may be.

<sup>104</sup> Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 175. W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1854), pl. XXII, figs. 9-15. Even Scaccia Scarafoni, *loc. cit.* (1936), p. 116 admits this similarity. It is perhaps not quite by chance that Alphanus, in praising the church of Desiderius, says (*PL*, CXLVII, p. 1237):

Atria Iustiniana situm  
Hunc sibi diligenter satius.

<sup>105</sup> R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901), p. 30, fig. 19, pl. 30-33, esp. 31. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 427, fig. 251. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 484. For the date cf. O. Demus and E. Diez, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 108. Nea Moni: A. C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, II (Athens, 1930), pl. 21 (= Fig. 223).

<sup>106</sup> Scaccia Scarafoni, *loc. cit.* (1936), p. 117 (photograph; he does not refer to it in the text); cf. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 177 and *Napoli nobilissima*, V (1896), p. 5. For the date cf. the dedicatory inscription reproduced in H. W. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, II (1860), p. 333.

<sup>107</sup> Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 176 and fig. 74. Dalton, *op. cit.*, pp. 424 f. Jahn Rusconi, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Scaccia Scarafoni, *loc. cit.* (1936), p. 112. Petrus Diac. seems to have in mind this section of the pavement, when he adds to Leo's text (*Chron. Cas.* III 28) — "Pavimentum etiam universum totius ecclesiae . . . mira prorsus et hactenus partibus istis incognita caesorum lapidum multiplicitate constravit" — the words: "sed illud praecipue, quod secus altarium est, et in choro."

ica of Monte Cassino.<sup>108</sup> The shape of the animals reminds us of those in the Monte Cassino manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus written about 1023.<sup>109</sup>

Leo of Ostia writes about the Desiderian mosaics:

The degree of perfection which was attained in these arts by the masters whom Desiderius had hired can be seen in their works: one would believe that the figures in the mosaics were alive and that in the marble of the pavement flowers of every color bloomed in wonderful variety. And since *magistra Latinitas* had left uncultivated the practice of these arts for more than five hundred years and, through the efforts of this man, with the inspiration and help of God, promised to regain it in our time, the abbot in his wisdom decided that a great number of young monks in the monastery should be thoroughly initiated in these arts in order that their knowledge might not again be lost in Italy. And the most eager artists selected from his monks he trained not only in these arts but in all the arts which employ silver, bronze, iron, glass, ivory, wood, alabaster, and stone.<sup>110</sup>

The atrium of the basilica was decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. There survives an interesting reference to these frescoes which has scarcely been noticed by the historians of art. Among the poems of Alphanus of Salerno, preserved in Cod. Cas. 280, there is one which

<sup>108</sup> Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 483 f. and fig. 209. P. Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria* (Florence, 1929), pp. 167–175 and especially figs. 117–122, p. 156, fig. 100. The discovery of a dedicatory inscription in the pavement enabled Orsi to date the church about the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. Orsi rightly emphasized the influence of Monte Cassino (pp. 174–175). Scaccia Scarafoni's attempt to show that the slabs of Monte Cassino and of S. Adriano have nothing to do with each other (*loc. cit.*, pp. 112 f.) is entirely beside the point.

<sup>109</sup> Cod. Cas. 132; cf. M. Inguañez, *Cod. Casin. Catal.*, I, 2 (1923), p. 212. E. A. Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 59. M. Avery, *Art Bull.*, XXIII (1941), p. 110, fig. 26 and p. 111.

<sup>110</sup> The passage from the *Chron. Cas.* III 27 runs as follows: "Quarum artium tunc ei destinati magistri cuius perfectionis extiterint in eorum est operibus estimari, cum et in musivo animatas fere autumet se quisque figuras et quaeque virentia cernere et in marmoribus omnigenum colorum flores pulchra putet diversitate vernare. Et quoniam artium istarum ingenium a quingentis et ultra iam annis magistra Latinitas intermiserat, et studio huius inspirante et cooperante Deo, nostro hoc tempore recuperare promeruit, ne sane id ultra Italiae deperiret studuit vir totius prudentiae plerosque de monasterii pueris diligenter eisdem artibus erudiri. Non tamen de his tantum, sed et de omnibus artificiis quaecumque ex auro vel argento, aere, ferro, vitro, ebore, ligno, gipso, vel lapide patrari possunt, studiosissimos prorsus artifices de suis sibi paravit." (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.*, no. 2278, p. 478); cf. Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 7 and the passages indicated above in n. 96. For the conception "*magistra Latinitas*" cf. in this connection Alphanus' remark about "*mater Graecia*," *infra*, p. 220, n. 198. Leo's assertion that more than five hundred years had elapsed since the art of mosaic was forgotten in Italy is probably inspired by Alphanus' similar expression in his poem *De Casino Monte* (PL, CXLVII, p. 1237 B, C):

Lustra decem novies redeunt,  
Quo patet esse laboris opus  
Istius urbibus Italiae  
Illicitum; peregrine diu  
Res modo nostra sed efficitur.

The obvious exaggeration implied in this statement has been emphasized repeatedly (cf. e.g., Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 175). But the number 500 recurs in an analogous connection in



has been edited three times, each editor believing himself to be the first.<sup>111</sup> It starts with four verses identical to those which according to Leo of Ostia were written on the arch and the apse of the basilica of St. Benedict. The first two are in imitation of the verses which decorated the walls of the Lateran basilica, the following two copy the inscription which Constantine the Great had set on the *arcus maior* of the Vatican basilica.<sup>112</sup> Desiderius' borrowing, incidentally, is another impressive testimony of his conscious attempt to establish a relationship with the most venerable churches of Christianity; at the same time it indicates how aware he was of the eminence of his position. But then there follow other Leonine hexameters in the manuscript of Monte Cassino, the nature of which was first recognized by Amelli: they are verses describing scenes from both Testaments, and were to be written on paintings representing these scenes. There can hardly be a doubt that the scenes in question are those known to have been painted in the atrium: in other words, that Alphanus composed all the poetry for the decoration of the church.<sup>113</sup>

A striking analogy to these scenes with inscriptions and to the basilica

the verses which Desiderius had inscribed in the apse of the church of St. Martin rebuilt by him (*Chron. Cas.* III 34):

Cultibus extiterat quondam locus iste dicatus  
 Demoniacis, inque hoc templo veneratus Apollo.  
 Quod pater huc properans Benedictus in omnipotentis  
 Vertit honore Dei Martini et nomine sancti.  
 Hoc Desiderius *post centum lustra* vetustum  
 Parvumque evertit, renovavit, compsit et hausit.

As Desiderius is marked out for specific praise as the fourth founder of the monastery (Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 1), the special importance attributed to the number 500 years is another way of stressing this connection between St. Benedict and Desiderius.

<sup>111</sup> A. Amelli, "La Basilica di Montecassino e la Lateranese nel secolo XI," *Miscell. Cas.*, I (1897), pp. 16–20. G. Falco, *Bull. dell'ist. stor. ital.*, XXXII (1912), pp. 1–6; B. Albers, *Neues Archiv*, XXXVIII (1913), pp. 667–669 (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.*, n. 2574, p. 578).

<sup>112</sup> Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 28. For the Lateran verses cf. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, II, pp. 236 f. and *infra*, n. 113. Constantine (in the Vatican basilica):

Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans  
 Hanc Constantinus victor tibi condidit aulam.

Desiderius:

Ut duce te patria iustis potiatur adepta,  
 Hinc Desiderius pater hanc tibi condidit aulam.

<sup>113</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 28 (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2279, p. 479): "Reliquas vero tres atrii partes, diversis tam veteris quam novi testamenti historiis abintus ac deforis depingi praecipiens mamoreo totum in giro pavimento constravit (*scil.* Desiderius)." Amelli, *loc. cit.*, pp. 19 f. and Albers, *loc. cit.*, p. 669 recognized the true nature of the "poem" of Alphanus and of the connection of the verses with the passage from the *Chron. Cas.* Falco, *loc. cit.*, and Inganez, *Cat. cod. Cas.*, II, 1, pp. 93–95 should be corrected correspondingly: they both identify the verses with the *Versus de ecclesia S. Iohannis*, the title which Petrus Diaconus erroneously gave to them in his list of Alphanus' works (*De vir. ill.* 19, *PL*, CLXXIII, p.

as a whole is provided by the famous church of Sant' Angelo in Formis, near Capua, built at the order of Desiderius himself (probably soon after 1072) and relatively well preserved. It was this church which started a lively discussion of the Byzantine question at the end of the last century. The answer was found more than thirty years ago by Émile Bertaux; it is certain, and need only be outlined here.<sup>114</sup> The plan of the church follows again the pattern of the early Christian basilicas.<sup>115</sup> The paintings of the narthex were executed by Byzantine artists under the influence of Byzantine mosaics. The archangel Michael (Fig. 227) is almost a copy of the mosaic representing the archangel in the church of Nea Moni in Chios (Fig. 228).<sup>116</sup> The scenes of the Old and New Testaments which decorate the interior are certainly the work of the pupils of the Byzantine artists. The influence of Byzantine iconography, as well as the independence of the artists in their style, is perceptible everywhere.

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1031). He follows there the manuscript which contains the verses: Cod. Cas. 280. Petrus' error is easily explained: The first two verses (from the Lateran basilica)

Haec domus est similis Synai sacra iura ferentis  
Ut lex demonstrat hic quae fuit edita quondam

were recognized by him as those in the *Chron. Cas.* III 28 where they are introduced as follows: "In absida vero hinc inde sub pedibus sanctorum baptistae et evangelistae *Ioannis* versus istos . . ." For this reason he referred the *whole* group of verses to St. John's chapel).

<sup>114</sup> On Sant' Angelo in Formis cf. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 241-243, 250-267 and still F. X. Kraus, "Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo in Formis," *Jahrb. d. kgl. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XIV (1893), pp. 3-21, 84-100. E. Dobbert, "Zur byzantinischen Frage. Die Wandgemälde in S. Angelo in Formis," *ib.*, XV (1894), pp. 125-159, 211-229. P. Muratoff, *La pittura bizantina* (Rome, 1927), pl. LXXVI-LXXXIII. G. De Jerphanion, "Le cycle iconographique de Sant' Angelo in Formis," *La voix des monuments* (Paris, 1930), pp. 260-280. P. Kehr, *IP* VIII, pp. 234 f. Desiderius' dedicatory inscription is reproduced by Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 172, cf. *Chron. Cas.* III 37 (Lehmann-Brockhaus, no. 2099, p. 435). According to this passage and the document on which it is based, the church was presented to Monte Cassino in 1072 by Richard of Capua (cf. Kehr, *loc. cit.*). Desiderius' construction is therefore to be dated in the period from 1072 to 1086 (probably soon after 1072 on account of the passage in the Chronicle). Consequently, the date 1058-1086 found in the handbooks has to be revised. A. Marignan's article "Les fresques de l'église de Sant' Angelo in Formis," *Le Moyen Âge*, XIV (1910), pp. 1-44, 73-110, 137-172, is mentioned here only because it appears in every bibliography of Sant' Angelo. His "discoveries" are as follows: the Monte Cassino manuscripts usually attributed to the period of Theobald and Desiderius belong in reality to the XIIIth century and the frescoes of San Vincenzo al Volturno and Sant' Angelo were executed between 1200 and 1220. The name of Bertaux does not figure in this study. How much time would be saved if articles like this could be definitely dropped from bibliographies.

<sup>115</sup> How much the basilica of Monte Cassino was the model of Sant' Angelo is shown by a comparison between the portals of the two churches: Scaccia Scarafoni, *loc. cit.* (1936), p. 109.

<sup>116</sup> A. C. Orlandos, *op. cit.* (in n. 105), pl. 17 (= Fig. 228). For Sant' Angelo cf. Muratoff, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVII (= Fig. 227) - LXXVIII.

2. THE NEW STYLE IN THE ILLUMINATION OF MANUSCRIPTS:  
FIGURE SCENES AND INITIALS

The most interesting group of monuments in which the activity of the pupils of the Byzantine artists can be studied is the series of figure scenes in the manuscripts surviving from the epoch of Desiderius. Here a tradition of high level already existed, unbroken since the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>117</sup> But important changes took place under Desiderius' regime and in so far as these changes concern the miniatures, they can be connected with the stimulating influence of Byzantine artists and their works. In the two most outstanding manuscripts of Monte Cassino origin, which are closely related to each other, the Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202 and the Cod. Cas. 99, this Byzantine influence has long been recognized.

The Vat. 1202 contains lessons from the Lives of St. Benedict, St. Maur, and St. Scholastica and is illustrated by numerous miniatures.<sup>118</sup> Since Desiderius had ordered in Constantinople a golden antependium with scenes of the life of St. Benedict, it was argued, quite convincingly, that this antependium may have served as a model for the miniatures of the manuscript. But as in the frescoes which decorate the interior of Sant' Angelo in Formis the artist by no means depends only on Byzantine models. One need only compare, e. g., the rendering of the sarcophagus and of the baldachin in the illustration which accompanies the chapter *De sepulchro* in the Monte Cassino manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus' Encyclopedia (Fig. 229) with those in the Entombment of Sant' Angelo (Fig. 230) and in the similar scene in the Vat. 1202 (Fig. 231).<sup>119</sup>

The same is true, incidentally, for the Exultet Rolls of Monte Cassino origin which belong to this period. But also here, besides the Byzantine influence, the native element is strong: The Tellus in the Exultet Roll in

<sup>117</sup> Cf. in general Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 193–208; Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, *passim*; G. Ladner, "Die ital. Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert," *Jahrb. d. kunsth. Samml. in Wien*, N. F., V (1931), pp. 33–160, esp. pp. 38–51; M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of Southern Italy*, II (Princeton, 1936).

<sup>118</sup> A. Poncelet, *Catal. Cod. hagiograph. Lat. bibl. Vat.*, Brussels (1910), pp. 72 f. Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 32 (= Lehmann-Brockhaus, *op. cit.*, no. 2587, p. 681). Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 207; G. Graf Vitzthum, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters* (Potsdam, 1924), p. 56; Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 70–71. The miniatures of Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202 are now splendidly published in the work quoted *supra*, p. 195, n. 98. For the Byzantine influence on the miniatures of the Desiderian period cf. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–205; A. Boeckler, *op. cit.* (in n. 52), pp. 74–77; Ladner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38–47.

<sup>119</sup> A. Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell'anno 1023 illustranti l'enciclopedia medioevale di Rabano Mauro* (Monte Cassino, 1896), pl. XCVIII (= Fig. 229). De Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pl. LVIII, 1 (= Fig. 230), cf. 2. Inganez and Avery, *op. cit.* (in n. 98), pl. XIX, 3 (= Fig. 231). A. S. Roe, *Art. Bull.*, XXIII (1941), p. 217, fig. 6.

the British Museum and that in the Barberini Exultet Roll (Fig. 233) are copied or at least ultimately derived from the manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus just mentioned (Fig. 232).<sup>120</sup>

Important changes were introduced also in the initial ornamentation which in the early years of Desiderius had continued traditional patterns, as witness the beautiful Sacramentary Cod. Cas. 339 written at his order.<sup>121</sup> These changes can best be studied in the two illuminated manuscripts mentioned above: Cod. Vat. 1202 and Cod. Cas. 99. It has already been said that F. v. Baldass was first to recognize in the initials of the Vatican manuscript the influence of the Ratisbon school and that afterwards Lowe pointed out the Ottobon. 74 specifically as a model for these initials.<sup>122</sup> What seemed at that time highly probable must now be considered as certain in the light of what has been demonstrated above. Leo of Ostia, in his description of the Gospel Book of Henry II (*supra*, p. 178), goes into greater detail than is usual even in this excellent source. Surely, as the librarian of the monastery, he must have been familiar with the important part which this manuscript had played in his time.

A comparison of the initials influenced by the style of the Ratisbon school with the four initials in the Ottobon. 74 (Figs. 234–237)<sup>123</sup> shows beyond doubt that this manuscript is the only one of Ratisbon origin that served as a model for the illuminators of Monte Cassino. In the Vat. 1202, Baldass had singled out the initials on fol. 18<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 244), 87<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 245), 231<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 246) as being under Ratisbon influence; Lowe had added fol. 109 (Fig. 240);<sup>124</sup> Miss Avery, who had the two manuscripts together for comparison, has detected such influence also in fol. 120<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 241), 92<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 242), 46<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 243), and 168<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Avery, *op. cit.* (in n. 117), pp. 19–20, 34–35, pl. XLV 5 and CXLVIII 5 (= Fig. 233); Amelli, *op. cit.*, pl. LXII (= Fig. 232). This relationship had already been recognized by Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 236. For the date of the Barberini Exultet Roll cf. now G. B. Ladner, "The 'Portraits' of Emperors in Southern Italian Exultet Rolls," *Speculum*, XVII (1942), pp. 181–200, esp. p. 183. The date suggested by him ("not earlier than the latter part of the twelfth century") is to be contrasted with the view of Miss Avery and E. A. Lowe who assign it to the end of the eleventh century. As long as Lowe's palaeographical arguments have not been refuted on specific grounds, I am inclined to uphold the eleventh century date. The Barberini Exultet Roll may well have been repainted at the end of the twelfth century.

<sup>121</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68. This manuscript is mentioned in the list of works executed at Desiderius' order in the period 1058–1071 (*Chron. Cas.* III 18; cf. *supra*, p. 179, no. 8 and *infra*, pp. 205 ff.).

<sup>122</sup> v. Baldass, *loc. cit.* (in n. 52); Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68, 71; cf. *supra*, p. 180.

<sup>123</sup> (1) fol. 16 "*Liber*," Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, fig. 49 (= Fig. 234), (2) fol. 83 "*Initium*," *ibid.*, pl. XX, fig. 51 (cf. our Fig. 235), (3) fol. 127 "*Quoniam*" = Fig. 236, (4) fol. 194 "*In principio*," Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, fig. 53 (cf. our Fig. 237).

<sup>124</sup> v. Baldass, *loc. cit.*, p. 290; Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 71.

In the Cod. Cas. 99 with its wealth of initials only the one on fol. 133 (Fig. 239) belongs to the same category; all other initials are of the traditional type.<sup>125</sup>

To these two manuscripts which show the connection with the Ottobon. 74 a third must be added, the Cod. Vat. Lat. 1203. For our knowledge of the relationship of this last manuscript we are indebted to Miss Avery and it is only owing to her extraordinary kindness that I am allowed to make use of this interesting and hitherto unpublished discovery, and even to present pictures of the initials in question (Figs. 247–249).

Although the reproductions of the initials in figures 234–249 speak for themselves, it may be helpful to indicate in a footnote the special relationship which exists between each of the Monte Cassino initials and its model in the Ottobon. 74.<sup>126</sup>

What Lowe said about the methods of these artists is perfectly true: "The Cassinese artist borrowed boldly, but not slavishly. In fact, he greatly

<sup>125</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68 (= Fig. 239). The information that this initial is the only one in Ratisbon style in the Cas. 99 is due to Miss Avery.

<sup>126</sup> Cod. Cas. 99: Fig. 239 (fol. 133): imitates the monogram on fol. 83 of the Ottobon. 74 (Fig. 235). Most remarkable difference: a kind of symmetry is introduced in the upper half of the Monte Cassino initial which is lacking in the original. There is in the copy a strong tendency toward greater clarity and abstraction.

Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202: Fig. 240 (fol. 109): depends on the same original, but is certainly the work of another hand and follows more closely its model than Fig. 239, with the exception of the interlaced pattern at the top and the bottom of the stem of the I, both of which transform or copy similar patterns of Ottobon. 74, fol. 16 (Fig. 234).

Fig. 241 (fol. 120<sup>v</sup>): under the influence of the Ottobon. 74; the diagonal stroke divides the N into two symmetrical halves.

Fig. 242 (fol. 92<sup>v</sup>): this initial also is a rather free creation; the influence of the Q of Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (Fig. 236) is noticeable.

Fig. 243 (fol. 46<sup>v</sup>): (a) Cf. the corner motives in Ottobon. 74, fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (fig. 238); (b) Schematic transformation of the corner shields in Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (fig. 236); (c) Rather free creation in the style of the Ratisbon initials.

Fig. 244 (fol. 18<sup>v</sup>): depends on Ottobon. 74, fol. 194 (Fig. 237), again with the exception of the interlaced pattern at the top and the bottom of the I which once more is under the influence of Ottobon. 74, fol. 16 (Fig. 234). The frames of this and the following two initials are only in some details imitations of the originals. The little disks, however, occur also in the pictures of the Evangelists, like Fig. 238. The motive of the five-lobed leaf in the frame is derived from the central ornament in the frame of Ottobon. 74, fol. 16 (Fig. 234).

Fig. 245 (fol. 87<sup>v</sup>): The initial is influenced by the Q in Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (Fig. 236). The corner decoration is taken from a similar one in the pictures of the Evangelists, particularly from Ottobon. 74, fol. 15<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 238). The corner shields are also derived from Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (Fig. 236). The animals in the little disks remind us of the mosaics in the church: cf. Fig. 225 (cf. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–204 and v. Baldass, *loc. cit.*, pp. 294–295).

Fig. 246 (fol. 231<sup>v</sup>): (cf. Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 72, 2 and Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 200 fig. 85). The lower half of the stem of the T imitates the lower half of the vertical stroke of the L in Ottobon. 74, fol. 16 (Fig. 234). The peculiar mosaic pattern within the frame is taken over from the picture of the emperor, Ottobon. 74, fol. 193<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 221).

Cod. Vat. Lat. 1203: Fig. 247 (fol. 1): Close copy of Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (Fig. 236), especially with respect to the frame, which, however, has been transformed from a rec-

improved upon his model.”<sup>127</sup> A noticeable tendency toward clarity, symmetry and abstraction in the Monte Cassino “copies” has been stressed.<sup>128</sup> Most characteristically, the device of the Ratisbon model of combining in one monogram more than two letters (even as many as eleven)<sup>129</sup> is abandoned, this being the main reason why the initials of the German manuscript appear so entangled and involved.<sup>130</sup>

In many cases these artists go much further and emancipate themselves from their models; they like to combine the devices of the new style with those customary in Monte Cassino: the framework of the letters – divided into panels, a plain panel alternating with one filled with interlaced decoration – contains intertwined foliage.<sup>131</sup>

The initials derived from the Ottobon. 74 remained in favor in Monte Cassino after the time of Desiderius: the Breviarium Casinense (Cod. Paris. Mazarin. 364) is the most brilliant example. Here the Vat. 1202 itself had become the model; no direct connection with the Ottobon. 74 is visible.<sup>132</sup> The Paris manuscript belongs to the period about 1100, and since the Cas. 99 is dated 1072 the question arises whether any conclusion for the date of the two other manuscripts in question, the Vat. 1202 and 1203, can be reached. In the case of the Vat. 1202 this would be particularly interesting, in view of the unusual importance of this manuscript.

To summarize the evidence assembled so far in previous studies, on account of the acrostic verses in honor of the “Desiderius abbas” on fol. 1 and the dedicatory miniature with the picture of Desiderius on fol. 2 (Fig. 219),<sup>133</sup> it is clear that the Vat. 1202 belongs to the period of Desiderius. It must be earlier than 1086 because Desiderius is referred to as abbot. Lowe considers it in comparison with the Cas. 99 as a more mature performance and consequently assigns it to the years 1072–1086, a date which has not been questioned.<sup>134</sup> There is now universal agreement that the passage of

tangle into a square. The letter Q is a mixture of the Q in Ottobon. 74, fol. 127 (Fig. 236) and the O in fol. 194 (Fig. 237); some elements are added by the artist.

Fig. 248 (fol. 3): Simplified transformation of the Ratisbon type.

Fig. 249 (fol. 24<sup>v</sup>): Under the direct influence of Ottobon. 74, fol. 16 (Fig. 234). For the heart-shaped flower cf. fol. 83 (Fig. 235).

<sup>127</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 126.

<sup>129</sup> E.g., in Ottobon. 74, fol. 194 “*In principio*” (Fig. 237).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. A. Schardt, *Das Initial* (Berlin, 1938), p. 164.

<sup>131</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 68. Examples of this type of initials: Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–199, figs. 83–84 and Inganez and Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. XX (colored plate).

<sup>132</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 79.

<sup>133</sup> The verses are by Alphanus of Salerno; see *supra*, p. 195, n. 98. The dedicatory miniature best in Inganez and Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. 1 (colored plate) = Fig. 219.

<sup>134</sup> *Script. Ben.*, pl. 70; Boeckler, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 117. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII assigns the manuscript to the period about 1070 without explanation.

Leo of Ostia, *Chron. Cas.* III 18 refers to this manuscript: *Codicem quoque de vita sancti Benedicti et sancti Mauri et sanctae Scholasticae describi studiosissime fecit.*<sup>135</sup> But it has been generally overlooked that this passage forms part of a list of the objects which Desiderius provided. The passage is introduced as follows: "It seems suitable over and above this to insert here each and all of the items of church plate which [Desiderius] had had made in the period between his ordination and the renewal of the basilica." In other words, the objects in the list belong to the years 1058–1071.<sup>136</sup> To call in question a clear statement by Leo of Ostia in a matter concerning his own period and his special field of competence could only be warranted by cogent reasons. Actually all chronological indications furnished by the manuscript itself entirely confirm Leo's statement.

The acrostic poem mentioned above contains an important *terminus post quem*: it refers to the presence of Greek artists in Monte Cassino and to work on the new basilica. We must place it, therefore, some years at least after 1066.<sup>137</sup> The dedicatory picture (Fig. 219) shows the abbot and the Saint in front of churches which are decorated with porticoes. Other buildings are represented below. The picture and the accompanying verse *Cum domibus miros plures pater accipe libros*<sup>138</sup> hardly allude exclusively to the buildings erected by Desiderius before 1066, but must refer to the new basilica as well.

There is finally the significant observation made by Lowe that both manuscripts, the Vat. 1202 and the Cas. 99 "are companion volumes, agreeing not only in the character of the script and style of initials, but even in such details as the size of the page and of the written space and in the number of lines and columns in a page."<sup>139</sup> This is one reason more for believing in the closeness of the two manuscripts in both time and place of execution.

This conclusion is not weakened, if not altogether confirmed, by an ex-

<sup>135</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 70; Inguañez and Avery, *op. cit.*, Introd. Bertaux's doubts, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 1 rest on the wrong presupposition that the manuscript does not contain lessons from the life of St. Scholastica. See also Poncelet, *op. cit. (supra)*, n. 118), p. 73.

<sup>136</sup> The Latin text of the passage runs as follows: "Libet nunc super haec inserere singula quae ex eo quo ordinatus est tempore usque ad renovationem basilicae maioris in ecclesiae utensilibus fecerit." See also *supra*, p. 179, no. 9 a.

<sup>137</sup> A *terminus post quem* which is entirely consonant with the hypothesis mentioned above that the miniatures representing the life of St. Benedict may depend on the antependium ordered in Constantinople under emperor Romanos IV, and therefore are after 1068. See *supra*, p. 201.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 63: "Non solum autem in aedificiis, verum etiam in libris describendis operam Desiderius dare permaximam studuit." There follows the famous list of books copied at his order.

<sup>139</sup> Lowe, *Script. Ben.*, pl. 70.

amination of the style of the initials in the two manuscripts. We have said (*supra*, p. 203) that among the numerous initials of the Cas. 99 only one is taken from the Ottobon. 74, but fortunately this very one (Fig. 239) is derived from the same model which was imitated in one of the initials of the Vat. 1202 (Fig. 240). As the artists are different the value of any judgment made on the basis of a comparison of both initials is of course limited. But as was pointed out in the description of these initials (*supra*, n. 126), there can be no doubt that the tendency toward clarity and symmetry is more marked in the initial from the Cas. 99 than in that from the Vat. 1202. The former is therefore the more independent, the more advanced derivation. On the other hand, the similarity between the initials is so striking that one is inclined to put them close together chronologically.

Internal evidence thus confirms what is implied by Leo's statement, namely that the Vat. 1202 is anterior to the Cas. 99, and this same evidence leads us to make the interval between the writing of both manuscripts as short as possible. If one considers the festal character of the poem directed to Desiderius, the verse *Cum domibus miros plures pater accipe libros* which literally implies a *simultaneous* offer of buildings and books, the character of the content of the manuscript, devoted exclusively to the special Saints of the place, and the unique splendor of its decoration, it is then difficult to imagine that this jewel of the illuminator's art was not presented to the abbot on a special occasion of particular significance. Since this event must have taken place not long before 1072, the year in which the Cas. 99 was written and illuminated, the most suitable occasion for the presentation of the volume would seem to be the dedication of the basilica on October 1, 1071. The work on the manuscript must have been begun not after 1070, perhaps already in 1069. All this fits in well with the arguments discussed above. The Cas. 99 was written at Desiderius' order, as is shown by its dedication (treated *infra*, p. 209 in another connection), though it was actually presented by the newly ordained monk John to St. Benedict. Also the Vat. 1202 was undertaken at Desiderius' wish, but it was executed by the artists as a work to show the congregation's devotion to the abbot.

Under these circumstances, it is not at all surprising to see that the third of the manuscripts which are under the influence of the Ottobon. 74 is also intimately connected with Desiderius. As a matter of fact, the Vat. 1203 contains solely Desiderius' own work the *Dialogus de miraculis St. Benedicti*.<sup>140</sup> It is for us the archetype of this work on which all other surviv-

<sup>140</sup> G. Schwartz, *MG.*, SS., XXX, 2, p. 1115; cf. also Poncelet, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 118), p. 73.



ing manuscripts depend. While the Vat. 1203 cannot be the autograph of Desiderius himself, it is undoubtedly the copy which was made at the author's order, as we know from the list of books preserved in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino.<sup>141</sup> The *Dialogus* originated in the years 1076–1079, and the manuscript must consequently be later than both Vat. 1202 and Cas. 99. The initials in the Vat. 1203 are indeed different in character from those in the other two manuscripts, both in the kind of imitation and in quality which falls notably short of the two manuscripts of 1071/2.

The Gospel Book of Henry II had been in Monte Cassino for about fifty years before its fertilizing influence came into being. That this happened in the time of Desiderius is not due to chance. The contact with genuine works of Byzantine art which reached the monastery at that time directly from the East made the Monte Cassino artists suddenly aware that a codex rivalling them in beauty and by no means unakin was reposing in the monastery library, and led them to imitate the new type of initials. This is not in the least an isolated phenomenon in the history of art of that period, nor in the history of art in general. The famous Codex Aureus of Charles the Bald lay for about a century in St. Emmeram before it became a source of inspiration for the artists in that monastery (cf. especially the Sacramentary of Henry II).<sup>142</sup> Similar is the case of the Rome-Karlsburg Gospels belonging to the Ada Group and its influence on the Sacramentary of Gero, which was written shortly before 969 in Reichenau. In all these cases it is the isolated magnificent manuscript, executed at the order of the Imperial court, which exercises far reaching influence on other art centers.<sup>143</sup> One of the characteristic features of a revival is that earlier monuments of art, which seemed "dead" for generations, at a certain moment regain life and inspire artists who have obtained a new understanding of them. The example of the Ottobon. 74 is particularly interesting because the historical background of the role which this manuscript played is so well-known.

### 3. THE IVORY CASKET OF FARFA

Until recently our knowledge of artistry in Desiderius' day was based on monuments of architecture, painting, and miniatures. But about ten

<sup>141</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 63: (cf. *supra*, n. 138): "Dialogum quem ipse (*scil.* Desiderius) cum Alberico diacono edidit de miraculis monachorum loci istius. Dialogum aliud."

<sup>142</sup> Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, pp. 18–21. Boeckler, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>143</sup> W. Koehler, "Die Tradition der Adagruppe und die Anfänge des ottonischen Stils der Buchmalerei," *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf), 1926, pp. 255–272, especially p. 261.

years ago, two works in different media originating at Monte Cassino became known, whose importance had escaped the notice of scholars interested in the monastery. One of them is an ivory casket formerly preserved in the monastery of Farfa in the Sabine hills and now in the library of the Benedictine monastery of S. Paolo fuori le mura. The other object is a silver reliquary which was discovered in the main altar of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome.

The ivory casket of Farfa<sup>144</sup> is decorated with reliefs representing scenes of the New Testament, and bears a metrical dedicatory inscription (Figs. 250–253). The donor Maurus was rightly identified by Toesca and also by Hofmeister with the rich merchant of Amalfi mentioned above, who in 1066 donated to Monte Cassino the bronze doors made in Constantinople for the basilica. By a strange coincidence, Hofmeister had just published a detailed study of this interesting family of Amalfi when the ivory casket of Farfa became known, and he was thus better qualified than anyone else to understand the new inscription.<sup>145</sup> Since Maurus (= Mauro) alludes in it to his being a Benedictine, the *terminus post quem* is October 1071, for Maurus entered Monte Cassino as a monk immediately after the solemn dedication of the basilica, probably under the overwhelming impression of this event.<sup>146</sup> Since, furthermore, all six sons of Maurus are mentioned in the inscription as being alive, whereas we know that two of them died in a war with Salerno, one not after the middle of 1072 and the other in the

<sup>144</sup> Bibliography: A. B. Schuchert, "Eine unbekannte Elfenbeinkassette aus dem 11. Jahrh.," *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XL (1932), pp. 1–11. E. Weigand, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXIII (1933), pp. 226 f. A. Hofmeister, "Maurus von Amalfi und die Elfenbeinkassette von Farfa aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forsch.*, XXIV (1932/3), pp. 278–283. Schuchert, "Zur Elfenbeinkassette von Farfa," *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XLI (1933), pp. 162–165. E. Weigand, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXIV (1934), p. 240. P. Toesca, "Un cimelio amalfitano," *Boll. d'arte*, XXVII (1933/4), pp. 537–543 (cf. his earlier note in *L'Arte*, VII (1904), pp. 509–510 which was overlooked by Schuchert and Hofmeister). I owe this reference to Dr. E. Kitzinger.

<sup>145</sup> See *supra*, p. 194, n. 97. Some of the identifications had already been made by Toesca in his note of 1904 (mentioned in n. 144).

<sup>146</sup> Amatus, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), VIII 3, p. 343: "Et puiz, après ceste consecration (*scil.* of the basilica of Monte Cassino) Maure fu fait moine." Hofmeister, *loc. cit.* (in n. 144), pp. 279, 281. Since this decisive passage escaped Toesca's attention, his polemical remarks against Hofmeister are beside the point. That many people indeed were induced at that time to enter the monastery is expressly stated by the eyewitness Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 30: "Partim igitur desiderio Desiderium visendi, partim vero templi tam vulgati tamque celebris contuendi, *partim denique in hoc sacrosancto coenobio conversandi et Deo quoad viverent serviendi*, multi ex multis et extimis terrarum partibus huc coeperunt confluere, et hilariter Desiderio recipiente factum est ut intra ipsum ferme biennium ad secundum circiter centenarium congregationis loci huius se numerus porrexisset." Leo Ost., *Chron. Cas.* III 55 reports the entrance of a nobleman of Amalfi into Monte Cassino who offered St. Benedict a valuable relic from Constantinople. This is an interesting analogy to the case of Maurus.

years 1073–1075, the ivory casket of Farfa is to be dated in the years 1071–1072.<sup>147</sup> The inscription is addressed to someone, probably an abbot: “Receive this modest box fit for divine cult and given devoutly by your servants (*tuorum*).” And then: “I am rightly called Maurus since I donned the black garb of the Benedictines.” It ends with the verse: “Give pardon for the crimes and offer the crown of heaven.”<sup>148</sup> It cannot be definitely proved that the casket is not a gift to the abbot of Farfa.<sup>149</sup> But it is infinitely more probable that the casket came to Farfa only later on, and that its original recipient was Desiderius, whose name caused metrical difficulties in every poem, as Alphanus once bluntly said.<sup>150</sup> A striking analogy to the donation exists among the manuscripts of Monte Cassino: the splendid illuminated Cod. Cas. 99 treated above. This manuscript commences with a dedication dated in 1072, the very year in which the ivory casket of Farfa was carved. In this introduction the dedicant, the monk John, says (cf. Fig. 220): “Among other monuments of his greatness, wherein he excels all his predecessors, Desiderius ordered this most beautiful book to be written. . . . I, brother John, once archipresbyter of the Marsic church, now the last servant of this holy place, had it written at my own expense for my own salvation and that of my family, and offered it to St. Benedict, on the day when I received his garb, on his holy altar devoutly.”<sup>151</sup> The agree-

<sup>147</sup> Hofmeister, *loc. cit.* (in n. 144), pp. 280–283.

<sup>148</sup> The inscription (Schuchert, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 2; Hofmeister, *loc. cit.*, p. 279) reads as follows:

Suscipe vas modicum divinis cultibus aptum  
Ac tibi directum devota mente tuorum.  
Nomina nostra tibi, quesumus, sint cognita passim.  
Haec tamen hic sgribi voluit cautela salubris.

Iure vocor Maurus quoniam sum nigra secutus;  
Me sequitur proles, cum Pantaleone Iohannes,  
Sergius et Manso, Maurus, frater quoque Pardo.  
Da scelerum veniam, caelestem prebe coronam!

<sup>149</sup> The fact that it is not mentioned in the inventory of Farfa dated in 1119 argues distinctly against this view. Schuchert, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 8; cf. *Chron. Farf.* (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, vol. 34) (1903), pp. 292, 309 f.

<sup>150</sup> *De Casino monte*, PL, CXLVII, p. 1237A:

Nomen ob hoc operantis opus  
Nec reticere valet penitus,  
Nominis usus et ut proprii  
Postulat, anterior poterit  
Syllaba longa brevis fieri.

<sup>151</sup> *Bibl. Cas.*, II, p. 398: “Desiderius . . . inter cetera suorum monumenta magnalium quibus prae omnibus suis antecessoribus mirifice floruit hunc quoque pulcherrimum librum describi praecepit. . . . Quem vide licet librum ego, frater Iohannes, Marsicanae dudum ecclesiae archipresbyter, nunc autem ultimus eiusdem sancti loci famulus, ob meam meorumque salutem ex propriis sumptibus componere feci. Ipsique sanctissimo patri Benedicto eo die quo eius habitum suscepi super illius sacrum altare devotus obtuli.” Cf. also the somewhat different, but comparable case mentioned *supra*, n. 146.

ment between the two documents is close indeed. The gift is made at the time of or after the entry into the monastery, at the dedicant's own expense and for the salvation of the dedicant himself and his family. Both dedicants complied with the personal wishes of Desiderius. John says it directly, and as to Maurus the words of Leo of Ostia, quoted above, should be recalled to mind, according to which Desiderius prepared a selected group of monks to work in various materials; among them ivory was expressly mentioned (see *supra*, p. 198). Certainly it was pleasing to Desiderius that the gift by which the new monk Maurus wished to show his devotion to him should be commissioned from one of the artists trained in the monastery by Desiderius' own command. The monk Leo, too, who illuminated brother John's Cod. Cas. 99, belongs to this group of artists: his and his colleagues' miniatures reveal the influence of the Byzantine masters brought in by Desiderius.<sup>152</sup>

An examination of the iconography and the style of the casket of Farfa reveals the same general situation already known from the examination of the illuminated manuscripts: Byzantine influence is obvious everywhere,<sup>153</sup> but it is by no means the only prominent factor. One specific feature, however, is peculiar to the ivory casket alone: this is a certain awkwardness which suggests that the artist or artists were only beginners and did not, unlike the illuminators, represent a long tradition.

Iconographic analogies to the Farfa casket are easily found in Byzantine

<sup>152</sup> A brilliant discovery made recently by H.-W. Klewitz [*Arch. f. Urkundenforsch.*, XIV (1936), pp. 422-423] throws new light on the two main figures of Cod. Cas. 99, the donor John and the scribe and illuminator Leo. John, the former archipresbyter of the Marsic church who entered into Monte Cassino in 1072, became bishop of Sora the following year. As such he continued enjoying the special favor of Desiderius, for in June and September 1075 he dedicated the chapels of St. Bartholomew and St. Michael which Desiderius had constructed as part of his building program. This John is expressly referred to by Leo of Ostia as his uncle. Since Leo calls himself "frater Leo cognomine Marsicanus" (*MG.*, SS., VII, p. 574, 13), it seems most probable that the Leo represented on the first page of Cod. Cas. 99 is no one else but the historian of Monte Cassino. Leo of Ostia had come to the monastery about 1060 as a boy of 14 years and when Cod. Cas. 99 was written he was about 26 years old. In the dedication verses of Cod. Cas. 99 it is said that the work on the manuscript had been done by Leo (cf. Lowe, *Benev. Script*, p. 330). Under these circumstances one understands better Leo's career. As a young man he had been the most outstanding scriptor of the monastery and soon advanced to be its librarian and historian. Finally he reached the most distinguished place in the Sacred College when he was created cardinal bishop of Ostia (between 1101 and 1106). He died on May 22, 1115 [Klewitz, *Zeitschrift d. Savigny Stift.*, *Kanon. Abteil.*, LVI (1936), p. 210]. Leo's particular interest in the Ottobon. 74 to which attention was called above (p. 202) finds thus an additional and even more striking explanation. The greatest artist among the illuminators of Monte Cassino appears to be identical with one of the most important literary and political figures of Desiderius' circle.

<sup>153</sup> Recognized already by Schuchert, *loc. cit.*, 1932, pp. 9 f.; 1933, p. 163.

ivory reliefs. One may compare, for example, the *koimesis* of this box with the relief in Munich.<sup>154</sup> But it is more important here to demonstrate the origin of this work than to prove its dependence on Byzantine types. Its connection with the ivory carving of southern Italy was recognized at once by Schuchert, who indicated Monte Cassino as possibly the source of the work.<sup>155</sup> The most significant analogies to the iconography are to be found both in Salerno in the ivory reliefs of the so-called antependium, and in a related group of reliefs.<sup>156</sup> But the differences are none the less striking, especially in the treatment of the architectural background. In this respect the casket of Farfa agrees closely with the illuminated Monte Cassino manuscripts of the time of Desiderius: Cod. Cas. 99 and 98 (cf. *supra*, pp. 201 ff.), the Barberini Exultet Roll, and the Exultet Roll in the British Museum (cf. *supra*, p. 202; cf. Fig. 254).<sup>157</sup>

As so often in the history of art, apparently unimportant details are of great value to determine the origin of a work of art. A scene of special interest for this purpose is the baptism of Christ (Fig. 253). The naturalistic element of the fishes, which occurs in the scene, is almost unique in this period; in fact it never is found in the numerous representations of this scene on the ivory reliefs published by Goldschmidt and by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann.<sup>158</sup> It seems that the fishes do not appear at all in Byzantine representations of the Baptism before the twelfth century.<sup>159</sup> The only earlier examples are German: the Gospel Books of Otto III in Munich and

<sup>154</sup> A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des XI.-XIII. Jahrh.*, II (Berlin, 1934), p. 25, no. 1, pl. 1, 1.

<sup>155</sup> Schuchert, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 10. Toesca's suggestion of Amalfi as the place of origin of this work limits itself to the words "eseguito probabilmente ad Amalfi" (*loc. cit.*, p. 542) and is wholly arbitrary (cf. *supra*, n. 146).

<sup>156</sup> A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit XI.-XIII. Jahrh.*, IV (Berlin, 1926), pp. 2-4, 36-42, no. 126 and 129-137, 143-144, pl. XLII-XLVII, XLIX, LI. The study by L. Beccherucci, "Gli avori di Salerno," *Rassegna stor. Salern.*, II (1938), pp. 62-85 is known to me only from the notice of S. G. Mercati in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX (1939), p. 305. Whereas Goldschmidt (p. 3) thinks of Salerno or Amalfi as the place of origin of the Salerno ivories, Beccherucci connects them with Monte Cassino. But cf. also the remarks of Goldschmidt, p. 38. In view of the emphasis which this scholar lays on the influence of Egypt in earlier centuries as well as in the eleventh century, it may be pertinent to refer to the passage of Amatus of Monte Cassino quoted above, in which Desiderius is said to have summoned Saracen artists from Alexandria (*supra*, p. 194, n. 96). The stylistic differences between the Salerno ivories and the casket of Farfa were rightly emphasized by Toesca, *loc. cit.*, pp. 541 f.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. e.g., Ladner, *loc. cit.*, p. 39 fig. 8 (Cod. Cas. 99), and Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, 6, LI, 16, CLI, 10.

<sup>158</sup> In the two works quoted in n. 154 and 156.

<sup>159</sup> This is shown by an examination of the abundant material which was presented by J. Strzygowski in his monograph *Iconographie der Taufe Christi* (Munich, 1885), esp. p. 26. Cf. also De Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments* I (1930), pp. 165-188, J. Wilpert, *Die röm. Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrh.*, II (1917), pp. 777 ff.

of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim.<sup>160</sup> Under these circumstances, it is most significant that fishes appear in this scene in the following three monuments of the end of the eleventh century:

1. The ivory casket of Farfa (Fig. 253),
2. The frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis (Fig. 255),<sup>161</sup>
3. The south Italian (not yet localized) Exultet Roll of Pisa II (Fig. 256).<sup>162</sup>

It would be easy, incidentally, to discover other connections with the North in analyzing the tree beside St. John in the same scene; similar ornamental, non-naturalistic trees are found on the reliefs of the bronze doors of Hildesheim (1008–1015),<sup>163</sup> dedicated by the above-mentioned bishop Bernward. Illuminated manuscripts were the models for these details in the doors of Hildesheim, and the same holds true of the tree on the ivory casket. The form of the runners and flowers reminds us of the initials in the new style of Monte Cassino which are under the influence of the Ottobon. 74 (*supra*, pp. 202 ff.; cf. esp. Fig. 240).

But the most interesting fact concerning the origin of the Farfa casket is the connection with Sant' Angelo in Formis. That the common elements happen to be not Byzantine makes the agreement all the more noteworthy. It cautions us once more against simplifying unduly the relations between the Monte Cassino artists and their masters and shows that even in the "new" art of ivory carving the Italian artist did not merely copy a Byzantine work.

#### 4. THE RELIQUARY OF DESIDERIUS

The ivory casket of Farfa is certainly a work of unique importance. But the second of the above-mentioned objects, the silver reliquary of SS. Cosma e Damiano (Figs. 257–258), offers, from an historical point of view, even greater interest,<sup>164</sup> because it bears an inscription of Desiderius himself:

<sup>160</sup> Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, 3, 5. For better reproductions cf. G. Leidinger, *op. cit.* (in n. 57), pp. 16 f., pl. 20 or A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, II, pl. 27, and St. Beissel, *Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, Hildesheim, p. 43, no. 7.

<sup>161</sup> Overlooked by Kraus, *loc. cit.* (in n. 114), pp. 94 f., although they can be clearly recognized even in his bad reproduction (pl. between pp. 18 and 19 = Fig. 255). But see Dobbert, *loc. cit.* (in n. 114), p. 132.

<sup>162</sup> Avery, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXV, 8. On the Exultet Roll of Pisa cf. also Avery, *Art Bull.*, XXIII (1941), p. 111.

<sup>163</sup> Professor Koehler called my attention to this monument. Cf. A. Goldschmidt, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Bronzetüren*, I (Marburg, 1926), pp. 14, 20–25, pl. 19, 21, 24, 59. Cf. also H. v. Einem, "Zur Hildesheimer Bronzetür," *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, LIX (1938), pp. 3–19.

<sup>164</sup> The bibliography of this work is limited to an article by A. Colasanti, "Reliquiari medioevali in chiese romane," *Dedalo*, XIII, vol. II (1933), pp. 282–288; cf. also W. F. Volbach, *Boll. d'arte*, XXX (1937), p. 349 and E. Lavagnino, *Storia dell'arte medioevale italiana*

Reliqui(a)e s(an)c(t)i Mathei ap(osto)li ab abbate Desiderio Casinu(m) Salerno advect(a)e et inde v(e)c(tae??) p(er) Cinthiu(m) Fraiapane(m).<sup>165</sup>

We are well informed about the relics of St. Matthew in Salerno and it is therefore possible exactly to determine the moment of the “*translatio*” of these relics from Salerno to Monte Cassino. Ever since the body of the apostle had been brought from Paestum to Salerno in 954,<sup>166</sup> St. Matthew had been the patron of the city. In 1076 Salerno was conquered by Robert Guiscard. A few years later, in 1080, the body of the Saint was rediscovered. The letter of congratulation which Gregory VII wrote to Alphanus is still preserved. In it he asks the archbishop to exhort Robert and his wife to render the Saint reverence and honor and thus to win by most strenuous efforts, his grace and protection. Alphanus himself celebrated in three poems the apostle and Robert, undoubtedly under the influence of the pope and of Alphanus, erected the present Cathedral in honor of St. Matthew (1080–1085). It was dedicated by Gregory VII himself early in 1085 when he was living in exile at the court of the Norman Duke.<sup>167</sup> Among the churches which show the influence of the basilica of Monte Cassino, the Cathedral of Salerno is the most impressive example. Recent restorations and studies arising out of them have only enhanced the striking resemblance between the two structures. This is of course in no way astonishing, since Alphanus, Desiderius’ closest friend, was, next to the Duke, the person most intimately interested in the completion of the work.<sup>168</sup>

(Torino, 1936), p. 449, fig. 522 and p. 451. Although the pyxis was discovered as early as 1924 (Colasanti, *loc. cit.*, p. 282) it had to wait nine years for publication. There is no reference to it in the studies on SS. Cosma e Damiano by G. Basiotti and Ph. B. Whitehead (*Rend. Pont. Acc. di arch.*, s. III, 1924/5, pp. 83 ff.) and Whitehead (*Am. Journ. of Archaeol.*, XXXI, 1927, pp. 1 ff.) nor in V. Mariani, *Via dell’ Impero* (Rome, 1933), p. 61.

<sup>165</sup> The letters VC P are somewhat enigmatic; v(irim) c(larissimum) is excluded. Colasanti, *loc. cit.*, p. 284, wisely refrained from any interpretation of these letters. Lavagnino misunderstood the inscription entirely, *loc. cit.*

<sup>166</sup> Kehr, *IP VIII*, pp. 361 f.; cf. *Chron. Cas.* II 5.

<sup>167</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 45. Gregory VII’s letter: *MG., Epp. sel.*, II, p. 526, no. 8; cf. Kehr, *IP VIII*, p. 352, no. 27. For the dedication of the cathedral cf. Kehr, *IP VIII*, p. 362, no. 1. Alphanus’ poems: *PL*, CXLVII, pp. 1225–1226, no. 6–8. As to the date of construction of the cathedral, the absence of any reference to the church in Amatus’ last book, which ends in spring 1078, is a definite *terminus post quem*; on the other hand, Gregory’s exhortation addressed to the Duke can only be understood if a church in honor of St. Matthew were not yet under construction when the letter was written; cf. Schiavo, *loc. cit.* (in the following note), pp. 169 f. With this date the important inscription mentioned in n. 179 is in perfect agreement.

<sup>168</sup> On the relationship between the basilica of Monte Cassino and the Cathedral of Salerno cf. in general *supra*, p. 196, n. 102 and especially Willard, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 196, n. 101), p. 146. M. De Angelis, *Il duomo di Salerno nella sua storia, nelle sue vicende e nei suoi monumenti*, Salerno, 1936, pp. 111–112. A. Schiavo, “Montecassino e Salerno,” *Atti del II convegno di storia dell’ architettura* (1937) (Roma, 1939), pp. 159–176. G. Chierici, “Il duomo di Salerno e la chiesa di Montecassino,” *Rassegna stor. Salern.*, I (1937), pp.

Robert Guiscard's special veneration for St. Matthew was genuine; we hear of an arm of the Saint which, in a silver shrine, accompanied the Duke on his campaign against Alexius Comnenus; after Guiscard's death it was appropriated by his chamberlains; in 1122, after many adventures it finally reached Monte Cassino.<sup>169</sup> The story is related by Peter the Deacon in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino. He adds a list of the numerous gifts which Robert Guiscard and his wife Sigelgaita offered to Monte Cassino. At the end of his list, Peter the Deacon mentions the town of Cetraro in Calabria which was given to the monastery after Guiscard's death (July 17, 1085) by Sigelgaita. A copy of the deed is preserved in the *Registrum Petri Diaconi*. It is dated in the period from January 1 to August 31, 1086. In the chronicle Peter the Deacon continues: *Super haec autem transmisit beato Benedicto per Desiderium altare pretiosissimum, auro ac smaltis, margaritis et gemmis quodque his omnibus multo pretiosius est, beatissimi apostoli et evangelistae Matthei sacrosanctis reliquiis mirifice decoratum*. Even in the important detail that Desiderius personally brought the altar and the relics from Salerno to Monte Cassino the report in the chronicle agrees with the inscription on the reliquary.<sup>170</sup> There can be no doubt therefore that the gift was presented to Desiderius by Sigelgaita during one of his stays in Salerno after the death of Gregory VII and Robert Guiscard,<sup>171</sup> probably, in view of the connection with the donation of Cetraro, early in 1086.

It is well known that, according to the Monte Cassino tradition, the dying Gregory had designated the abbot of Monte Cassino as his main candidate for the succession and that Desiderius long refused to accept the burden of the pontificate until he consented to his election on the day of Pentecost (May 24) 1086, calling himself Victor III, obviously as a tribute to the policy of conciliation which had distinguished the government of Victor II.<sup>172</sup> The name alone was sufficient to be considered as a chal-

95 ff. (not accessible in this country; probably important, inasmuch as Chierici was in charge of the restoration of the cathedral). Thümmeler, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 196, n. 102), pp. 213 f. Krautheimer, *Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1942), p. 28, n. 168.

<sup>169</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 45, 57, cf. IV 73.

<sup>170</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 58. For the diploma of Sigelgaita see Gattola, *Acc.*, I, p. 192. The generosity of Robert Guiscard and his wife toward Monte Cassino is also mentioned by Amatus at the end of his work, *op. cit.* (in n. 43) p. 375. Sigelgaita was buried in the atrium of the Basilica of Monte Cassino at her own request (Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* IV 8).

<sup>171</sup> Kehr, *IP* VIII, p. 353, no. 29 quite rightly says "Desiderius certe saepius Salerni commoratus est."

<sup>172</sup> *Chron. Cas.* III 65-66. F. Hirsch, "Desiderius von Monte Cassino als Papst Victor III.," *Forsch. zur deutschen Gesch.*, VII (1876), pp. 91 ff. A. Fliche, "Le pontificat de Victor III.," *Rev. de l'hist. eccl.*, XX (1924), pp. 387-412. Abbé Rouy, "L'élection de Victor III, etc.," *Rev. de l'hist. de l'église de France*, XIV (1928), pp. 145-160. Kehr, *IP* VIII, p.



lenge by the most radical representatives of the Gregorian party. The two letters which archbishop Hugh of Lyon, another candidate of Gregory VII for the papacy, directed to Matilda of Tuscany in 1087 and 1088 are evidence of these feelings.<sup>173</sup>

This is the historical background in which the new document easily finds its place. Cencius Fraiapane, *consul Romanorum*, had been for twenty years the undisputed leader among the Roman nobility of the interests, first, of the archdeacon Hildebrand, then of pope Gregory VII. In 1061 he had helped Hildebrand in installing the bishop Anselm of Lucca as Pope Alexander II; in 1084 he had been in agreement with Robert Guiscard when the Normans came to liberate Gregory VII and burned down Rome. Cencius is again mentioned as taking part in the endless parleys which followed the death of Gregory, when the military power which he possessed represented a factor of decisive importance in the struggle for Rome, since large parts of the city were still in the hands of the antipope Wibert of Ravenna (Clement III). He took part in the council of Capua on March 21, 1087.<sup>174</sup> It was probably in the stormy days of the beginning of 1086 that Desiderius presented the powerful Roman noble with this valuable gift, soon after he had received the relics in Salerno from the hands of Sigelgaita, the widow of Robert Guiscard.<sup>175</sup>

If one considers that there exist only two highly prejudiced reports concerning the events following the death of Gregory VII, the "official" chronicle of Monte Cassino and the two spiteful letters of archbishop Hugh of Lyon, the importance of the silver pyxis as an independent piece of evidence need not be emphasized further. The election of Victor III appears thus in a somewhat new light, inasmuch as it seems to imply that a more active part was taken by Desiderius than one could have expected.

150, no. 128. For the policy of Victor II see *supra*, p. 192 and esp. Erdmann, *op. cit.* (in n. 78), p. 116.

<sup>173</sup> *MG.*, *SS.*, VIII, p. 466. *PL*, CLVII, pp. 511 ff., no. 8-9. In evaluating the attitude of Hugh of Lyon it should be remembered not only that his views about the policy of the Roman church were different from those of Desiderius, but that there were even more important personal reasons to explain his resentment: Hugh considered himself as a candidate for the throne of St. Peter. Fliche apparently does not see these facts; therefore his picture of the pontificate of Victor III resembles the caricature presented by the irate archbishop of Lyon.

<sup>174</sup> These facts concerning Cencius' life are correctly assembled in Colasanti's article, *loc. cit.*, p. 284 from Hirsch, *loc. cit.*, and Gregorovius' *op. cit.* (in n. 15). Cf. in addition, F. Ehrle, "Die Frangipani und der Untergang des Archivs und der Bibliothek der Päpste am Anfang des 12. Jahrh.," *Mél. E. Chatelain*, Paris, 1910, pp. 484 f. In the *Chron. Cas.* Cencius is mentioned in 1084 (III 53), 1086 (III 66) and 1087 (III 68).

<sup>175</sup> Since Desiderius calls himself Desiderius and abbot in the inscription, and not pope, Colasanti's suggestion *loc. cit.*, p. 284, that he may have given the pyxis to Cencius on the occasion of the council of Capua in 1087 is highly improbable.

The pyxis was certainly not made for the purpose for which, according to the inscription, it was actually used. This inscription is obviously later<sup>176</sup> and there arises the problem of the origin of the reliquary. Although one looks in vain among the reliquaries of that period for analogies,<sup>177</sup> a clear solution of the question can be reached. The most significant feature of the object is the naturalistically sculptured ape, which is shown nibbling at an apple.<sup>178</sup> In that period a representation of this animal is very rare. It is therefore most significant that it occurs in the decoration of the Cathedral of Salerno which shelters the body of the very St. Matthew whose relics were enclosed in the silver pyxis. Above the portal of the atrium, the so-called Porta dei Leoni, there is an architrave which bears an inscription in memory of the peace brought about by abbot Desiderius between Robert Guiscard and Jordan of Capua in 1080.<sup>179</sup> The inscription is flanked by two animals in high relief: at the right by a dog, at the left by an ape (Fig. 259).<sup>180</sup> The ape bears a close resemblance and belongs even to the same species to which the ape of the reliquary belongs: the baboon, frequent in Ethiopia and Eastern Africa.<sup>181</sup> The mutual ties between

<sup>176</sup> Recognized by Colasanti, *loc. cit.*, p. 284.

<sup>177</sup> Colasanti's observations about the style of the reliquary (*loc. cit.*, pp. 284 ff.) are irrelevant. His most important object for comparison, the cover of the Gospels of Alphanus III of Salerno, who died in 1182 (Bertaux, *op. cit.*, pl. VII) has very little to do with the pyxis and is 100 years later. But it is noteworthy that he, as well (*loc. cit.*, p. 288) as Lavagnino (*op. cit.*, p. 451), thinks that the pyxis originated in Monte Cassino or Campania.

<sup>178</sup> That the handle belongs to the vessel is proved by the similarity of the leaves on which the ape is sitting with the leaves which decorate the pyxis. Handles of this type are frequent on pyxides. The fact that the handle later broke off as the photograph in Volbach's article indicates, *loc. cit.* (in n. 164), p. 349, fig. 16, proves only the lack of interest of those in charge of the pyxis. Volbach's photograph shows further how awkward the vessel looks without its crowning figure. Since there is, finally, hardly a doubt that Cencius himself was responsible for depositing the reliquary in the altar of SS. Cosma e Damiano (see *infra*, p. 217, n. 186), where it remained undisturbed up to 1924, the genuineness of the handle is probable also on external grounds.

<sup>179</sup> The inscription (H. W. Schulz, *op. cit.* in n. 106, II, p. 282) runs as follows:

Dux et Iordanus dignus princeps Capuanus  
regnent eternum cum gente colent Salernum.

Cf. *Chron. Cas.*, III 45: "Cuius (*scil.* Desiderii) monitis Robertus obtemperans pacem cum principe facit." F. Chalandon, *op. cit.* (in n. 91) I, pp. 255 f. (he does not mention the inscription nor the Cathedral at all). Arturo Capone's *Il Duomo di Salerno* (Salerno, 1927 and 1929) is of no value for the historian of art.

<sup>180</sup> Schulz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 282. Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 462. A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, III (1904), p. 534, pp. 540-541, figs. 501-502 (= Fig. 259).

<sup>181</sup> Cf. W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938), esp. pp. 104 f. The reference to this book I owe to Professor Koehler. For the ape as symbol of the devil, cf. McDermott, p. 157 and M. Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (Chicago, 1931), p. 43, 120-129. The ape on the reliquary has scarcely any religious meaning. Professor H. W. Janson of Washington University is preparing a study of the symbolism of apes in Mediaeval and Renaissance art which he expects to publish in the near future.

the two monuments, the reliquary and the Cathedral, are so numerous and so close that we conclude perforce that they have a common origin.<sup>182</sup> Grif-fins are so frequent in the iconography of Monte Cassino illumination and architecture that no special references need be given. Although the ornaments of the pyxis occur in contemporary Byzantine art (but not, apparently, in illuminated manuscripts),<sup>183</sup> the pyxis as a whole is not specifically Byzantine. It may be repeated here that silver — like ivory — is included in Leo of Ostia's list of materials which were used by the workmen of Monte Cassino.<sup>184</sup>

The reliquary of Monte Cassino consequently proves to be not only an outstanding historical document, but also a work of art of singular interest. It is the only remaining survival of the very rich treasure of Monte Cassino which can be reconstructed on the basis of the descriptions in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino. This treasure was dispersed around the middle of the twelfth and in the course of the thirteenth century.<sup>185</sup> The preservation of the reliquary is due to the recipient Cencius Fraiapane who placed it in the main altar of SS. Cosma e Damiano on the Forum Romanum, the church which was, with S. Maria Nova, in the most immediate neighborhood of the fortress of the Frangipani on the Via Sacra at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>182</sup> In the sculptural decoration of the architecture of Apulia the ape is not found before the middle of the twelfth century: M. Wackernagel, *Die Plastik des XI. und XII. Jahrh. in Apulien* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 92, 101 f., 104, 108, 129 (cathedral of Otranto, upper church, portal and apse window of St. Nicolas in Bari, St. John in Brindisi, cathedral of Barletta). An example of the use of apes in later periods as top decoration of caskets is found in the tin box which was taken from the altar of the church of Kiedrich and which is now in the Germanic Museum in Nürnberg: *Correspondenzblatt d. Gesamtvereine der deutsch. Gesch.- und Altertumsvereine*, XXII (1874), pp. 76 f. with pl.; cf. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I (Freiburg, 1924), p. 646.

<sup>183</sup> An examination of the ample material assembled by M. Alison Frantz, "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament," *Art Bull.*, XVI (1934), pp. 43-76, leads to this conclusion.

<sup>184</sup> See *supra*, p. 198, n. 110. Leo of Ostia's very interesting account of Desiderius' methods is not well enough known, *Chron. Cas.* III 32: "Sub qua nimirum trabe quinque numero teretes iconas suspendit, tredecim vero quadratas paris mensurae ac ponderis desuper statuit. E quibus videlicet decem ex quadratis praedictus frater (*scil.* the agent of Desiderius sent to Constantinople, see *supra*, p. 194) apud Constantinopolim crosso argento sculpsit, ac deauravit . . . *Tres vero alias de quadratis eiusdem metalli atque mensurae patrari suorum artificum opere nequaquam dissimili Desiderius iussit.*"

<sup>185</sup> Colasanti, *loc. cit.*, p. 288. Cf. also E. Molinier, *Hist. gén. des arts appliqués . . .*, IV (Paris, 1896), pp. 134 f. and Bertaux, *op. cit.*, p. 177. For the sacking by king Roger cf. *Ann. Cas.* ad annum 1143 A.D. (MG., SS., XIX, p. 310, 3): "Thesaurum huius loci omnem cum tabula ante altare tollit, praeter crucem maiorem cum cyburi et tribus tabulis altaris."

<sup>186</sup> On the fortress of the Frangipani cf. Ehrle, *loc. cit.*, p. 471 and C. Cecchelli, *Bull. dell'ist. stor. ital.*, XLVII (1932), pp. 136 f. On the altar of SS. Cosma e Damiano see J. Braun, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194, Kehr, *IP I* (1906), p. 68, no. 1 and p. 69, no. 3. Basiotti and Whitehead, *loc. cit.* (in n. 164), pp. 111, 119. R. Krautheimer, *Corpus der altchristl. Basiliken*, I, 3, p. 139.

The two works which have been treated here from the point of view of their relationship with Monte Cassino furnish new material to illustrate the famous passage of Leo of Ostia about the efforts of abbot Desiderius to create in his monastery a new center of Italian art under the fertilizing influence of Byzantine artists, who represented the highest level of art in his time. The effect of these efforts was not lasting, if one excepts the art of laying mosaic pavements. But if it is true that the paintings of S. Clemente which originated in the pontificate of Victor III or his successor Urban II, were really the work of the new school of Monte Cassino, a suggestion which has been supported by various scholars with convincing arguments, we should then be entitled to say that one of the most conspicuous monuments of Italian painting before the Trecento was a product of the art of Monte Cassino, in which Byzantine influence had acted as the leaven.<sup>187</sup>

#### 5. ALPHANUS OF SALERNO AND CONSTANTINUS AFRICANUS

Connections with Byzantine culture can be detected also in other manifestations of the climactic era of Monte Cassino. Its greatest figure after the abbot Desiderius was his close friend Alphanus, monk of Monte Cassino and archbishop of Salerno.<sup>188</sup> He had himself visited Constantinople in the early sixties of the eleventh century; he could well compare the new basilica of Desiderius with Hagia Sophia.<sup>189</sup> But, like Desiderius, he was politically an opponent of the Byzantine empire. When Gisulf, the last Lombard prince of Salerno, seemed to be developing as it were into a champion of Gregory VII, Alphanus addressed to him a poem at the end of which he spurred him on to a war against the Eastern Empire (about 1074):

Paulos et Fabios Corneliosque  
Gracchos, Fabricios Roma Lucullos  
Te viso memorat hisque decenti  
Quem virtute parem monstrat et armis.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Ladner, *loc. cit.* (in n. 117), pp. 61-69.

<sup>188</sup> Regarding Alphanus cf. M. Manitius, *op. cit.* (in n. 16), II (1923), pp. 618-637.

<sup>189</sup> According to Amatus of Monte Cassino, *op. cit.* (in n. 43), IV 37-39, pp. 208-212, Gisulf II of Salerno went in 1062 to Constantinople under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was accompanied by Alphanus and Bernard, cardinal bishop of Palestrina. He offered both of them as hostages to the emperor (Constantine X Ducas) for an alliance against Robert Guiscard. The report of Amatus is not very clear, however. Bernard died in Constantinople, cf. the epitaph written by Alphanus, M. Schipa, *Arch. stor. per le prov. napolet.*, XII (1887), p. 767 and H.-W. Klewitz "Die Entstehung des Kardinalskollegiums," *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Kan. Abt.*, XXV (1936), p. 208. G. Falco, "Un vescovo poeta del sec. XI. Alfano di Salerno," *Arch. soc. romana stor. patria*, XXXV, 1912, pp. 461 ff. For the allusion to Hagia Sophia see *supra*, p. 197, n. 104 and his *Vita SS. XII fratrum mart.*, *Acta SS.*, Sept. I, p. 155, 39.

Haec mucrone tuo frangere Pyrrhi  
 Iam festinat opes Annibalisque  
 Fortunas veteres atque furores,  
 Ut stringat solitis legibus orbem.<sup>190</sup>

And to the brother of Gisulf, Guido, he says in another poem:

Quam cuperem posses – poteris puto –, Caesar ut orbem,  
 Constantinopolis subdere regna tibi.<sup>191</sup>

Alphanus, in his poem *Ad Hildebrandum archidiaconum*, had been an ardent advocate of Hildebrand's world-embracing plans which tended toward the creation of a new Roman Empire ruled by the successor of St. Peter.<sup>192</sup> It was the spirit which lives in the grandiose fragments *De sancta Romana ecclesia* of cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, who in action as well as in thought had followed this line.<sup>193</sup> In his political poems Alphanus envisages the union of Europe and of the whole Mediterranean world under the leadership of the Roman church.

Alphanus was probably the greatest poet of Italy in the eleventh century. But he must be mentioned here in another connection. In his early years in Salerno he belonged to the famous school of physicians there, which he himself praised in his poem to prince Guido.<sup>194</sup> As a matter of fact, he was the first member of this school who published medical treatises. Two of these have been rediscovered in recent years: *De quattuor humoribus corporis humani* and *De pulsu*. In the second the influence of Byzantine medicine was recognized by the editor.<sup>195</sup> Medical and philosophical in-

<sup>190</sup> Migne, *PL*, CXLVII, p. 1256. Cf. Manitius, *op. cit.*, II, p. 625. G. Falco, *loc. cit.* (in n. 189), pp. 461 f. About the "crusade idea" which is behind this and the following poem cf. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–153 and Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 236 f.

<sup>191</sup> *PL*, CXLVII, pp. 1256–1258, esp. 1258 B, C. M. Schipa, *Alfano I archivescovo di Salerno* (Salerno, 1880), pp. 17, 39–42. Falco, *loc. cit.*, p. 462. Amatus, *op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 1.

<sup>192</sup> *PL*, CXLVII, pp. 1262 f. Cf. Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 16), I, pp. 248–250.

<sup>193</sup> See *supra*, p. 189. Schramm, *op. cit.* (in n. 16), I, pp. 238–246.

<sup>194</sup> *PL*, CXLVII, p. 1257 B (in his praise of Salerno's past glory):

Tum medicinali tantum florebat in arte,  
 Posset ut hic nullus languor habere locum.

On Salerno as a center of medical studies see Ch. H. Haskins, *op. cit.* (in n. 2), pp. 322 f. 22. K. Sudhoff, *Salerno, eine mittelalterliche Heil- und Lehrstätte*, *Sudhoffs Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, XXI (1929), pp. 43 ff. On Alphanus as promoter of medical studies: R. Creutz, "Erzbischof Alfano I, ein frühsalernitanischer Arzt," *Stud. und Mitt. d. Benedikt. Ord.*, XLVII (1929), pp. 413–432.

<sup>195</sup> P. Capparoni, *Il "De quattuor humoribus corporis humani" di Alfano I, archivescovo di Salerno* (Rome, 1928), cf. the same, in *Casinensia*, I (1929), pp. 151–156. R. Creutz, "Der Frühsalernitaner Alfano und sein bislang unbekannter Liber de pulsibus," *Sudhoffs Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, XXIX (1936), pp. 57–83; on p. 80 Creutz emphasizes that the work does not depend on Galen, but on the *Liber pulsuum* Philareti, a Byzantine treatise of the seventh century.

terests caused Alphanus to translate into Latin Nemesis of Emesa's *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπων*, long before Burgundio of Pisa furnished another translation of the same work.<sup>196</sup> Nothing illustrates better than this repetition the character of the Golden Age of Monte Cassino as a forerunner of the Renaissance of the twelfth century.

It is more than probable that knowledge of Nemesis came to Alphanus *via* Constantinople. Indeed it was hardly by chance that the learned monk John Petrici translated the same work into Georgian not long after Alphanus had made his translation, a fact to which Professor Robert P. Blake has called my attention.<sup>197</sup> Nemesis must have been popular at that time. In the preface to his translation Alphanus says: “. . . ad doctrinam huius modi copiosius a perpluribus dicta auctoribus, *et praecipue ab his quos mater educavit Graecia, Latinorum cogente penuria*, in hac editiuncula transferenda conferam . . .” (I 9).<sup>198</sup> It is the same attitude that caused Desiderius to call Byzantine artists to his monastery.

Recent discoveries have proved that the bringing in of the Saracen physician of Carthage Constantinus Africanus to Monte Cassino was chiefly Alphanus' doing.<sup>199</sup> It seems that Alphanus educated him in the Latin language. He sent him then to Desiderius with his first Latin work, a translation of Galen's *Mikrotechne*, and a letter of recommendation. Desiderius apparently received him with enthusiasm, and as a monk of Monte Cassino Constantinus composed his numerous works, mostly but by no means exclusively translations from Arabic sources which are in turn based on the works of the great classical Greek physicians.<sup>200</sup> The influence which the works of this African exercised on the development of medicine in the Mid-

<sup>196</sup> *Nemesi episcopi premnon physicon . . . a N. Alfano archiepiscopo Salerni in Lat. transl.* rec. C. Burkard (Leipzig, 1917). Manitius, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 631, 636. Ch. H. Haskins, *op. cit.* (in n. 94), p. 142, n. 5. On Burgundio, *ib.*, pp. 145, 153.

<sup>197</sup> R. P. Blake, “Georgian Theological Literature,” *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXVI (1925), pp. 50–64, mentions on p. 59 John Petrici's (†1125) translation edited by S. Gorgadze (Tiflis, 1913).

<sup>198</sup> “For the purpose of this teaching I intend to assemble in this little work what has been said rather more fully by very many authors, and especially by those whom mother Greece educated, forced to do so by lack of Latin writers.” It is highly instructive to compare this sentence with Leo of Ostia's remarks about *magistra Latinitas* quoted *supra*, p. 198, n. 110.

<sup>199</sup> For Constantinus Africanus the main source, besides his own writings, is Petrus Diaconus' *De viris ill.* 23 (*PL*, CLXXIII, p. 1034; cf. *Chron. Cas.* III 35). Cf. the comprehensive article by R. Creutz, “Der Arzt Constantinus Africanus von Montekassino. Sein Leben, sein Werk u. seine Bedeutung für die mittelalterliche mediz. Wiss.,” *Stud. und Mitt. d. Benedikt. Ord.*, XLVII (1929), pp. 1–44. Cf. the same, *ib.*, XLVIII (1930), pp. 301–324; XLIX (1931), pp. 25–44 and “Additamenta zu Constantinus Africanus u. seinen Schülern, Johannes und Atto,” *ib.*, L (1932), pp. 420–442, esp. pp. 439–442 where Creutz publishes an excerpt from the letter of recommendation which Alphanus sent to Desiderius with Constantine.

<sup>200</sup> The *Microtegni*, an adaptation of Galen's *Τέχνη ἰατρική* from the Greek into Arabic,

dle Ages can hardly be overestimated: they transmitted to the West the achievements of ancient Greek medicine. It is highly regrettable that mediaeval medicine has been studied only by specialists in medicine and has not aroused the interest and attention of philologists and historians. While Greek medicine has been made accessible by the editorial and exegetical activity of classical philologists, even the most detailed handbooks of mediaeval literature ignore the medicine of the Middle Ages altogether.<sup>201</sup> And yet the process by which Mediaeval Europe was introduced to ancient medicine in the eleventh century deserves the notice of the historian fully as much as that by which it was introduced to Greek philosophy two centuries later. Is it not most impressive to read in Constantinus' chief work, the *Pantecne*, which he dedicated to Desiderius himself, in the chapter *Qualis debeat esse discipulus* the solemn words of the venerable oath of Hippocrates, blended with the spirit of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*?<sup>202</sup> The ethical rules of Hippocrates were thus propagated by this Saracen wearing the cowl of St. Benedict in a work in the Latin language and dedicated to the great abbot himself.<sup>203</sup>

is mentioned in Petrus Diaconus' catalogue and is preserved (Creutz, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 440; cf. about this work of Galen: Schmid-Stähelin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, VII, 2 (Munich, 1922), p. 914, n. 2). Constantine admitted frankly that he translated from the Arabic, not from the Greek original, in the preface to his translation of Hippocrates' "*aphorismi liber*," as it is called in Petrus Diaconus' biography of Constantine (Creutz, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 430): "Licet petitionibus tuis continuis, fili mi Azo, mihi saepius diceret, ut ex opusculis Galieni aliqua latine lingue traducerem ex arabica lingua, diu tamen multum negavi, hesitans tanti transferre opera philosophi."

<sup>201</sup> Constantine is not even mentioned in Manitius' standard work. His works are available only in 16th century editions (cf. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I (1927), p. 769). Also the Latin of this author would deserve study. In view of the conspicuous lack of interest in this field among mediaevalists as a whole, the pioneer work of Ch. H. Haskins provokes even greater admiration.

<sup>202</sup> Creutz, *loc. cit.*, 1929, p. 44 (*PL*, *CL*, pp. 1563 f.):

Quemcumque vero magister erudiendum suscepit, videat ut discipulus secundum se sit dignus. Dignos quoque postmodum et ipse doceat et hoc sine pecunia . . . et indignos ab hac scientia repellere satagat. Laboret autem circa infirmi recuperandam sanitatem, neque hoc faciat propter spem pecuniae, neque divites plus consideret quam pauperes neque nobiles plus quam ignobiles. Potionem nocivam neque ipse doceat neque docentibus acquiescat: ne quis idiota audiens, ex auctoritate sua mortis misceat potionem. Neque doceat quomodo abortus fiat. Cum autem infirmum visitaverit, non cor suum eius apponat uxori, eiusve ancillam consideret vel filiam. Haec enim cor hominis excaecant. Luxuriam fugiat, delectationem saeculi cum ebrietate caveat. Haec enim mentem disturbant, corporis vitia confortant, et divinum auxilium subtrahunt. Sit pius, humilis, mansuetus, amabilis, divino expens auxilio adjuvari.

Cf. the *Oath* of Hippocrates, e.g., in the edition and translation of W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates*, I (Loeb), pp. 298-301.

<sup>203</sup> The dedication to Desiderius is printed from Cod. Amplon. Q 184 (written in 1147 A.D.) by Creutz, *loc. cit.*, 1932, p. 440:

Domino suo Montis Cassinensis abbati Desiderio reverendissimo patrum patri, immo totius ordinis ecclesiastici gemmae praenitenti Constantinus Africanus licet indignus monachus . . .

What does it matter, then, that the mediator actually was a Saracen, and not a Byzantine physician, that the Arabic language stands between the Greek originals and the Latin translations of Constantine! The goal of Desiderius and Alphanus was to make available to the Latin world — *Latinorum cogente penuria* — the great heritage of Ancient Greece — of *mater Graecia*, as Alphanus had said, whether it was carried on by artists of Constantinople or by a merchant-physician of Carthage. It is for this reason that the chapter on the revival of Greek medicine had to be included here.

#### IV. ALEXIUS I COMNENUS AND MONTE CASSINO

The last act of the relations between Monte Cassino and Byzantium takes place once more in the realm of high politics. When pope Alexander II, on October 1, 1071, dedicated the basilica of St. Benedict, just half a year had passed since Bari, the last stronghold of the Byzantines in Italy, had fallen to the Normans. The domination of the Greeks in Italy had come to an end,<sup>204</sup> but the friendly relations between Monte Cassino and the court in Constantinople continued undisturbed as the diploma of Michael VII of 1076 (discussed above, p. 195) clearly shows. They became even more important in the years thereafter.

During the first crusade, Desiderius' successor Oderisius I acted as mediator between the crusaders and the emperor Alexius I. The emperor's answer to Oderisius' first letter is preserved. With flattering words he assures Oderisius of his good relations with the crusaders (1097).<sup>205</sup> In the first half of 1098 Alexius sent another letter to Oderisius answering another request of the abbot on behalf of the crusaders. He emphasized the help which he had offered to the crusaders. The letter, which was accompanied by a gift to the monastery, is a classical document of Alexius' policy during the first crusade.<sup>206</sup> In 1106 the emperor sent another gift to Monte Cassino and the new abbot Otto advised him in a letter of the death of Oderisius.<sup>207</sup>

The last important event in which the emperor in Constantinople and the abbot of Monte Cassino collaborated was connected with the humiliation in 1112 of pope Paschal II by the German emperor Henry V. It is the Chronicle of Monte Cassino which reports that in that year Alexius con-

<sup>204</sup> Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 535–538. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 188–191.

<sup>205</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 147 fol. 67<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 62, p. 79, cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1207, p. 47. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 194.

<sup>206</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 146 fol. 67 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 66, p. 83, cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1208, p. 47. Cf. Petrus Diac. in *Chron. Cas.* IV 17. Chalandon, *op. cit.* (in n. 205), pp. 163, 197 f. G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929), p. 461, n. 3.

<sup>207</sup> Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* IV 27 = Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1229, p. 49.



ceived the grandiose scheme of making himself Emperor of the West. He sent letters to the Romans in which he complained about the injury done to the pope, praising their resistance, and declaring his readiness to accept the crown of the Western Empire for himself or for his son John.<sup>208</sup> The complaints are repeated in a letter to abbot Girard of Monte Cassino written in the same year. In it Girard is obviously considered as the natural intermediary between Alexius and the pope.<sup>209</sup> It seems that Paschal seriously considered Alexius' suggestion. In a letter to the pope Alexius discussed the possibility of a union of the two churches, for which he had been ready as early as 1089.<sup>210</sup> The Romans too were favorably disposed toward the plan, and dispatched an embassy to Alexius which was received with great honors in Monte Cassino on its way.<sup>211</sup> But soon after, Alexius wrote to abbot Girard that he was unable to come to Italy because of an illness; he had intended to discuss the possibilities of his project with the nobles of south Italy.<sup>212</sup> The whole tradition concerning this plan shows clearly that the abbot of Monte Cassino was one of its chief promoters. In his last letter Alexius expressed more distinctly than ever his obligation toward him.

The plan of the emperor had a sequel in Constantinople when Peter Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan, read before the court the treatise *De processione spiritus sancti contra Graecos*.<sup>213</sup> As was mentioned above, a part of this pamphlet is preserved in a manuscript of Monte Cassino. At its end there is recorded a very strange historical episode which has hitherto escaped the notice of historians: "When Grossolanus had read his treatise before the emperor, there were also Greeks with seven books. The emperor, having looked them through, said complainingly: 'Once wisdom was derived from the Orient to the Occident, from the Greeks to the Latins. Now on the contrary from the Occident to the Orient the Latins come and descend on the Greeks.' " <sup>214</sup> And then he continues, saying that Grosso-

<sup>208</sup> Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* IV 46 = Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1261, p. 54. Chalandon, *op. cit.* (in n. 205), p. 260.

<sup>209</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 154 fol. 69 = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 86, p. 113, cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, II no. 1262, p. 54 and *Arch. f. Urkundenforsch.*, XI (1929), p. 9.

<sup>210</sup> Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1263, p. 54, cf. W. Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahr 1089," *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXVIII (1928), pp. 38-67. Cf. also Chalandon, *op. cit.* (in n. 205), p. 262.

<sup>211</sup> Petrus Diac., *Chron. Cas.* IV 46. Chalandon, *op. cit.* (in n. 205), p. 261.

<sup>212</sup> *Reg. Petri Diac.* no. 148 fol. 67<sup>v</sup> = Trinchera, *op. cit.*, no. 61, pp. 78 f., cf. Dölger, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1264, p. 54 and *loc. cit.* (in n. 209). Chalandon, *op. cit.*, (in n. 205), p. 261.

<sup>213</sup> See *supra*, p. 193, n. 94.

<sup>214</sup> Amelli, *op. cit.* (in n. 94), pp. 35 f. from Cod. Cas. 220, fol. 43 (*Bibl. Cas.* (Floril. Cas.), IV, p. 358):

Cum ergo perfecto libello legisset Grosolanus illum ante imperatorem, affuerunt

lanus' work makes their work superfluous; they should compile something better. The monk who wrote this notice may have been Peter the Deacon, who also in the *Altercatio* mentioned above (p. 192) voices similar ideas of superiority of the Latins over the Greeks in cultural and in all other things.<sup>215</sup>

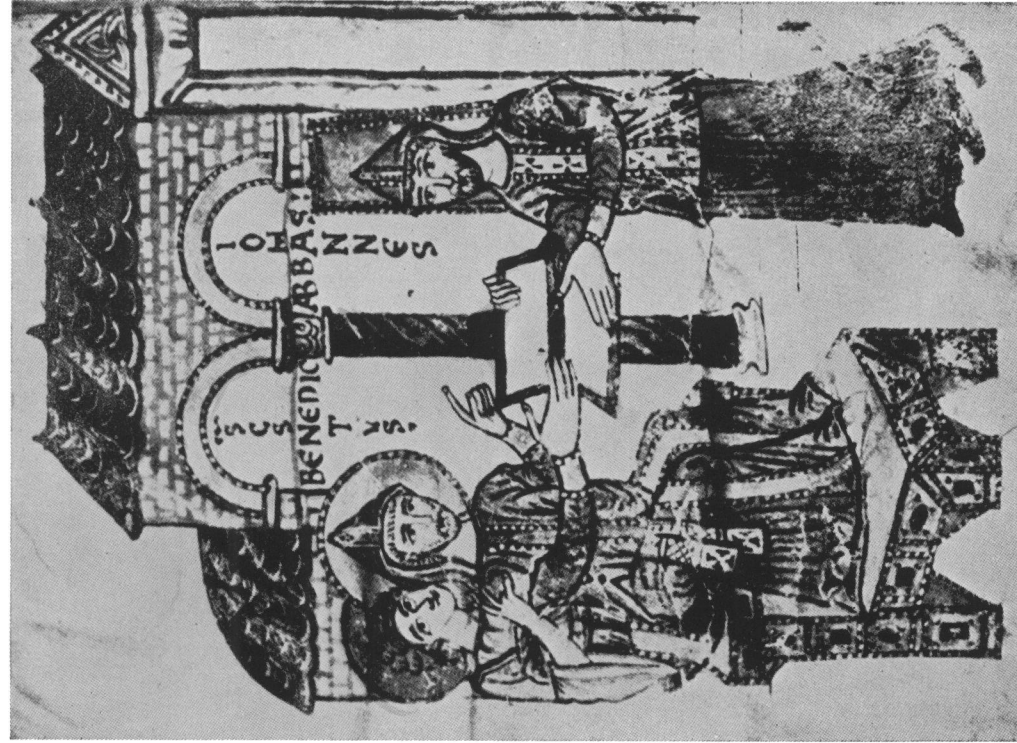
This episode forms therefore a most appropriate conclusion to the history of the relations between the Byzantine empire and the famous abbey. The anti-Byzantine attitude which with Alphanus of Salerno had been limited to the realm of politics and theology affected now all spheres of life alike. For men like Peter the Deacon the educational functions of *mater Graecia* have ceased to exist; on the contrary, they were to be taken over by the Latin West and to be applied to the Greeks. In such an atmosphere mutual relations of any importance could not and did not continue. In this respect, then, as well as on the whole, the era of Desiderius remained an episode, although a most significant one, which is a grandiose prelude not only to the great intellectual movement of the twelfth century, but also foreshadows the spiritual revolution which at the end of the thirteenth century began to sweep Europe, again accompanied by a wave of Byzantine influence, starting once more in Italy, which was destined to bring about a new epoch in the history of mankind.<sup>216</sup>

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etiam Graeci cum septem libellis. Quibus imperator perspectis coepit conquerendo dicere: 'Olim sapientia deducta est de Oriente in Occidentem a Graecis ad Latinos. Nunc e contrario de Occidente in Orientem Latinus veniens descendit ad Graecos.'

<sup>215</sup> Amelli, *op. cit.*, p. 36. On the *Altercatio* cf. *supra*, p. 192, n. 92. The problem touched upon in the text will be fully treated in the study mentioned in n. 4.

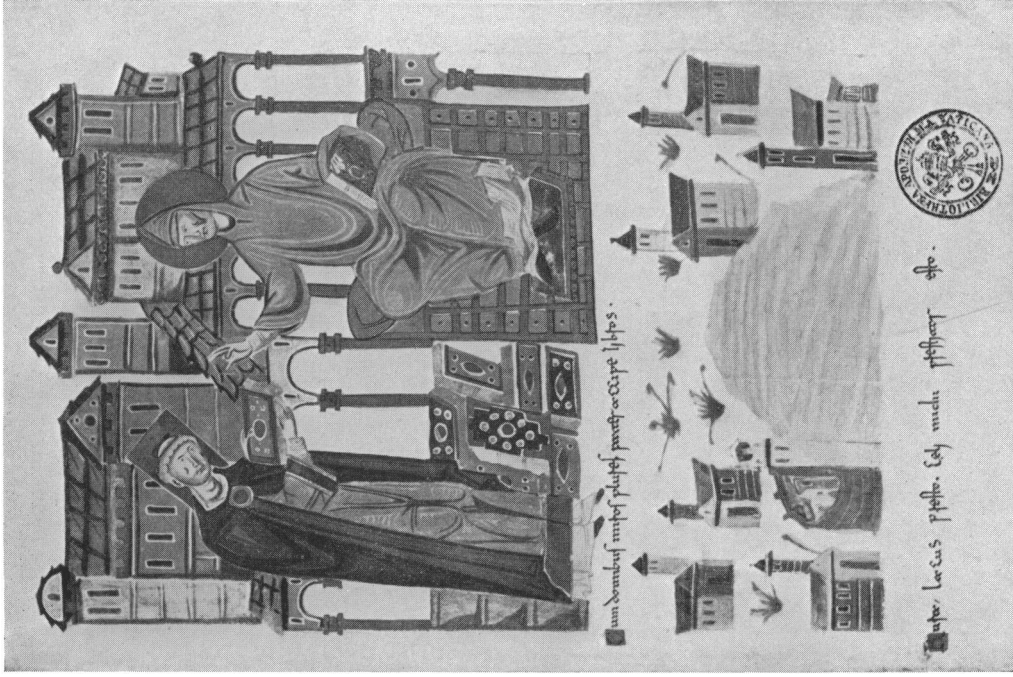
<sup>216</sup> Cf. W. Koehler, *loc. cit.* (in n. 2), pp. 86 f.



217. ABBOT JOHN OFFERS A VOLUME TO ST. BENEDICT  
COD. CAS. 175, FOL. 1. A.D. 915-934

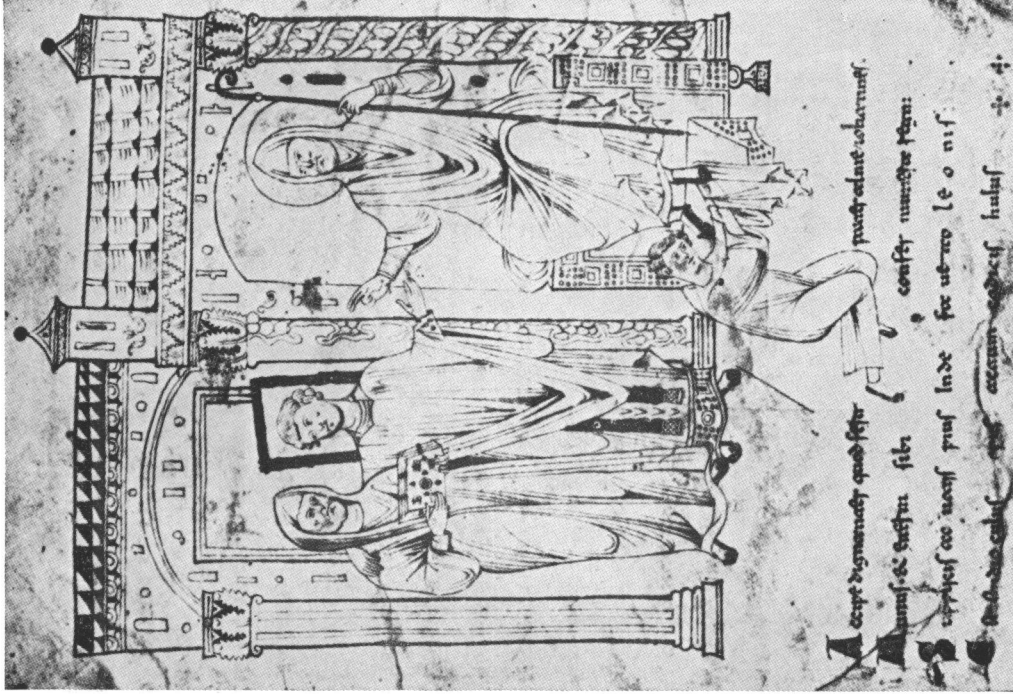


218. ABBOT THEOBALD OFFERS A VOLUME TO ST. BENEDICT  
COD. CAS. 73, FOL. 4. A.D. 1022-1032



219. ABBOT DESIDERIUS OFFERS CHURCHES AND BOOKS TO  
ST. BENEDICT

COD. VAT. LAT. 1202, FOL. 2. ABOUT A.D. 1071



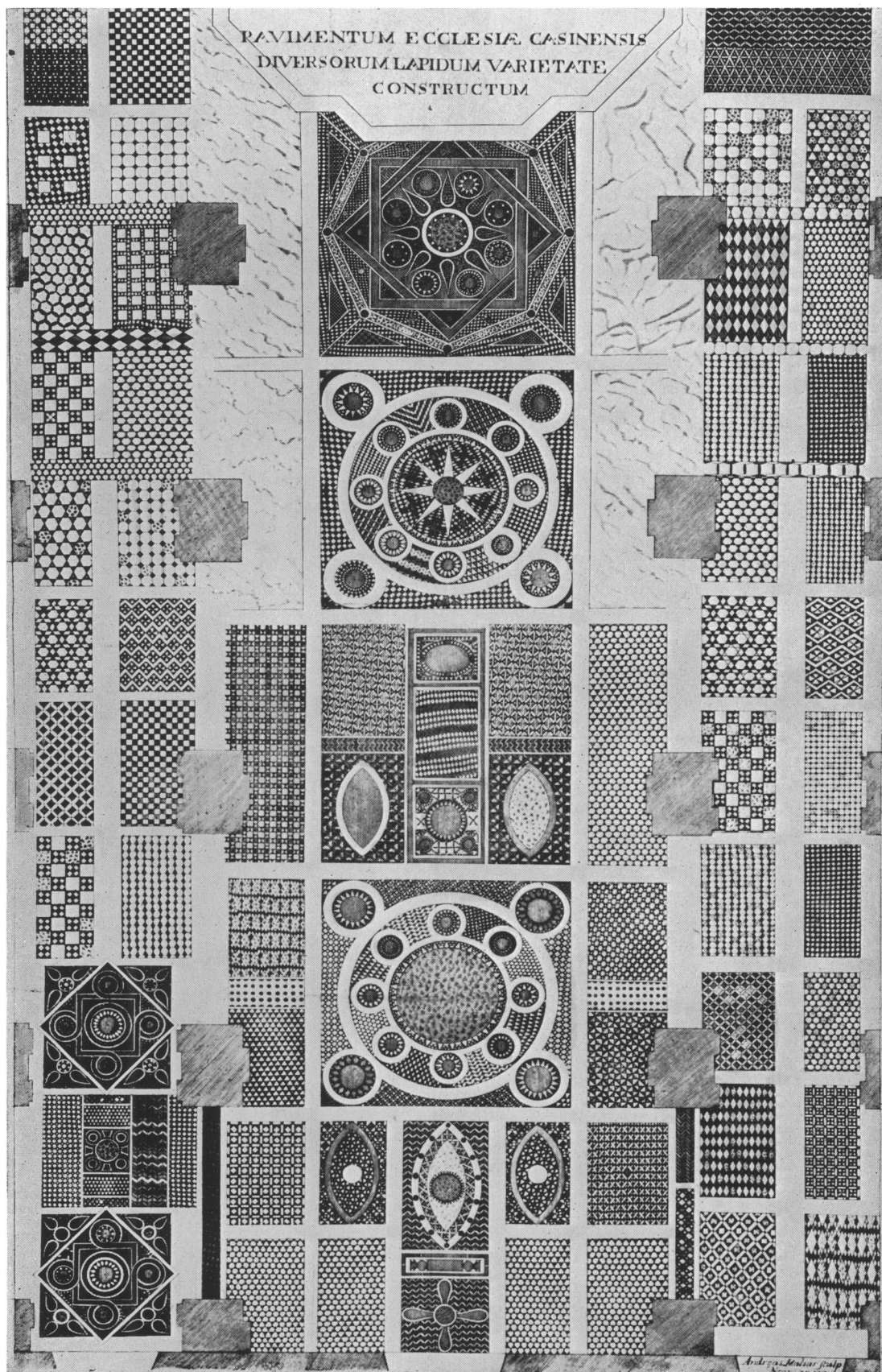
220. ST. BENEDICT, ABBOT DESIDERIUS, THE MONK JOHN AND  
THE SCRIBE LEO

COD. CAS. 99, FOL. 1. A.D. 1072

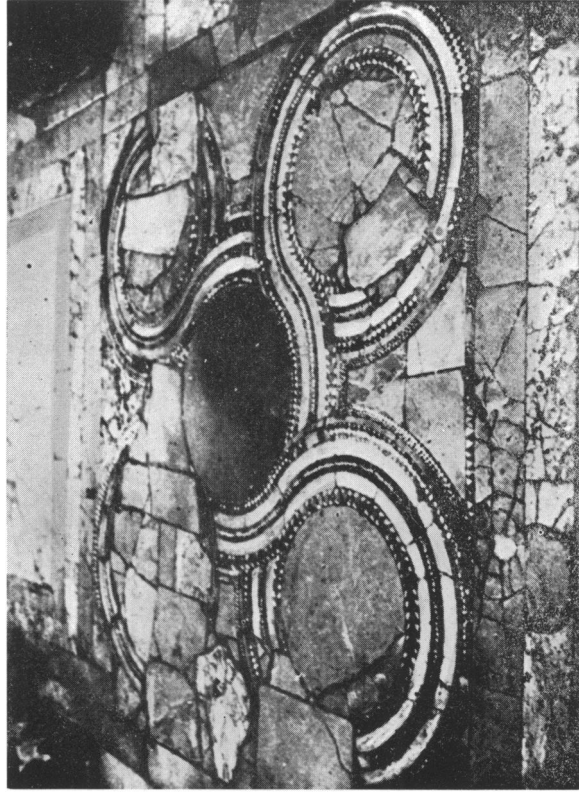




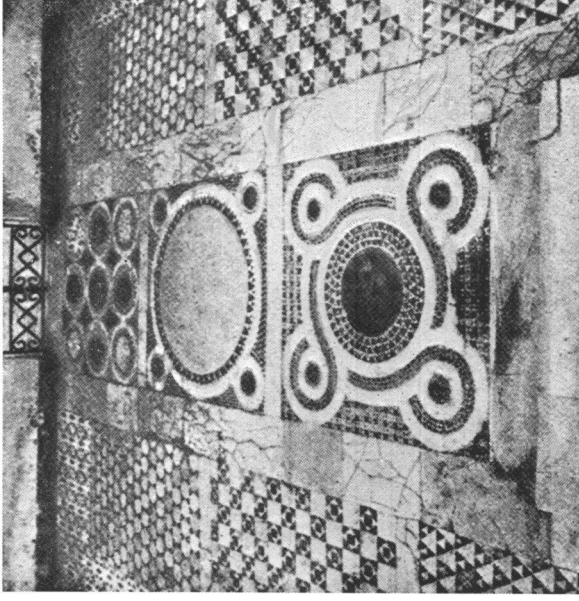
221. EMPEROR HENRY II  
 COD. VAT. OTTOBON. LAT. 74, FOL. 193<sup>v</sup>. A.D. 1022/3



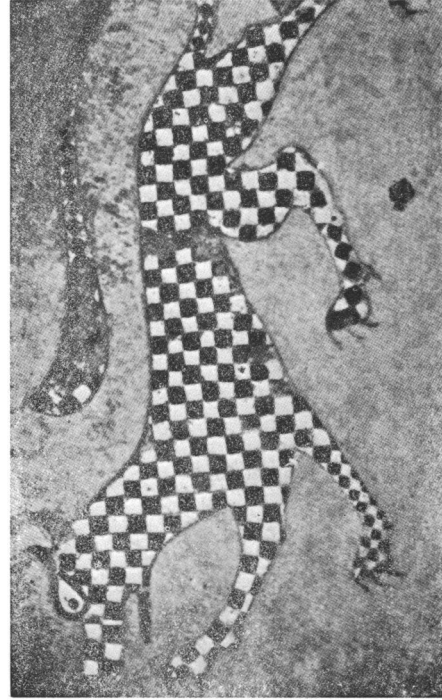
222. PAVEMENT IN THE DESIDERIAN BASILICA OF MONTE CASSINO. A.D. 1066-1071  
ENGRAVING OF THE YEAR 1713



223. PAVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF NEA MONI, CHIOS. CIRCA A.D. 1050



224. PAVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MENNAS IN  
S. AGATA DEI GOTI. A.D. 1110



225. MOSAIC FROM THE DESIDERIAN BASILICA OF MONTE  
CASSINO. A.D. 1066-1071



226. MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF S. ADRIANO IN S. DEMETRIO  
CORONE (CALABRIA). A.D. CIRCA 1100





227. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL. FRESCO IN THE NARTHEX OF SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS.  
A.D. 1072-1086



228. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL. MOSAIC IN THE CHURCH OF NEA MONI,  
CHIOS. CIRCA A.D. 1050





229. "DE SEPULCRO"  
COD. CAS. 132. HRABANUS MAURVS,  
"DE UNIVERSO." CIRCA A.D. 1023



230. ENTOMBMENT. FRESCO. INTERIOR OF SANT'ANGELO IN  
FORMIS. A.D. 1072-1086



231. ENTOMBMENT AND OTHER SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF ST. BENEDICT  
COD. VAT. LAT. 1202, FOL. 80. CIRCA A.D. 1071



232. "TERRA"

COD. CAS. 132. HRABANUS MAURUS, "DE UNIVERSO." CIRCA A.D. 1023



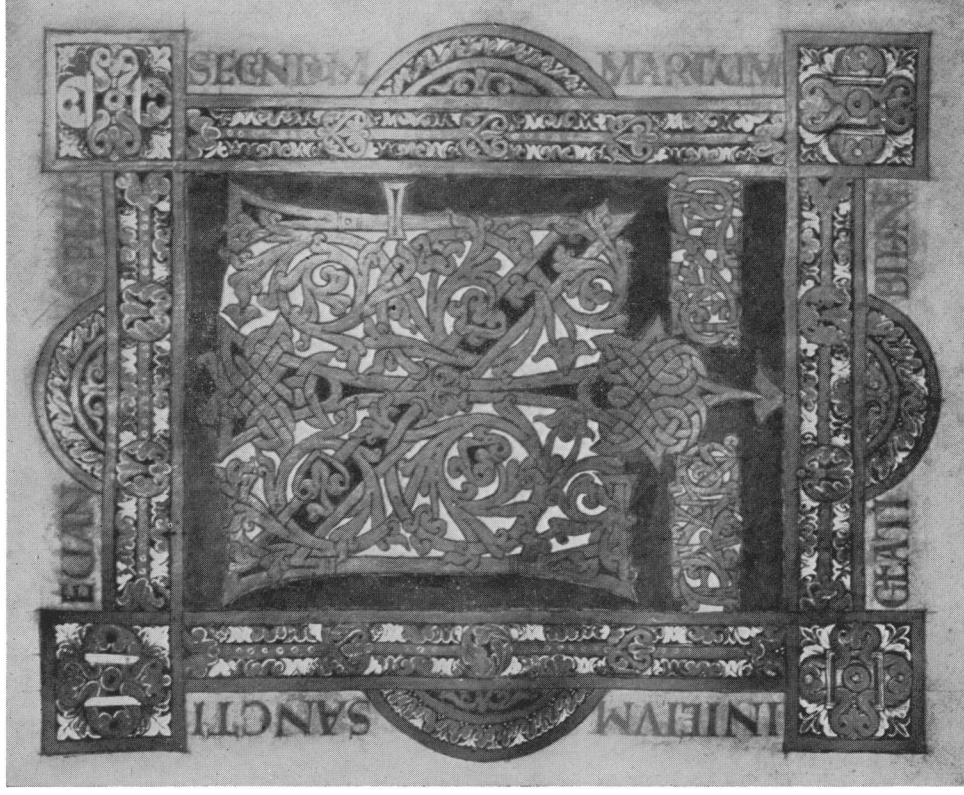
233. TELLUS

BARBERINI EXULTET ROLL. END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



234. "LIBER"

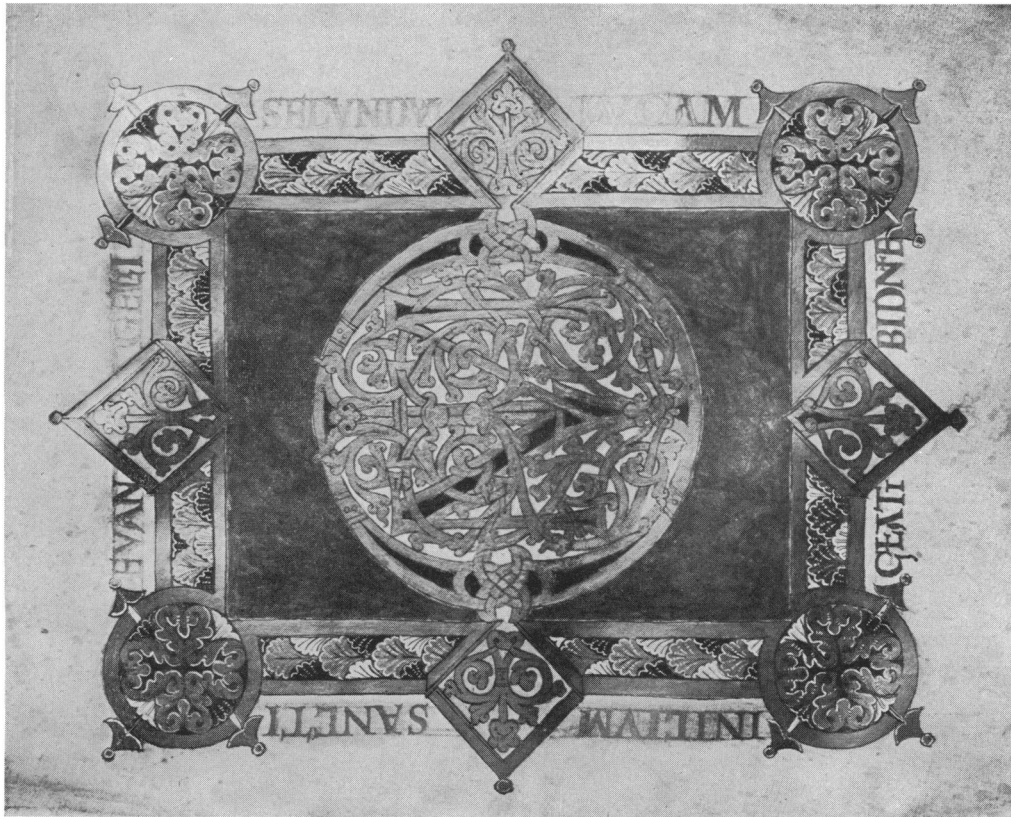
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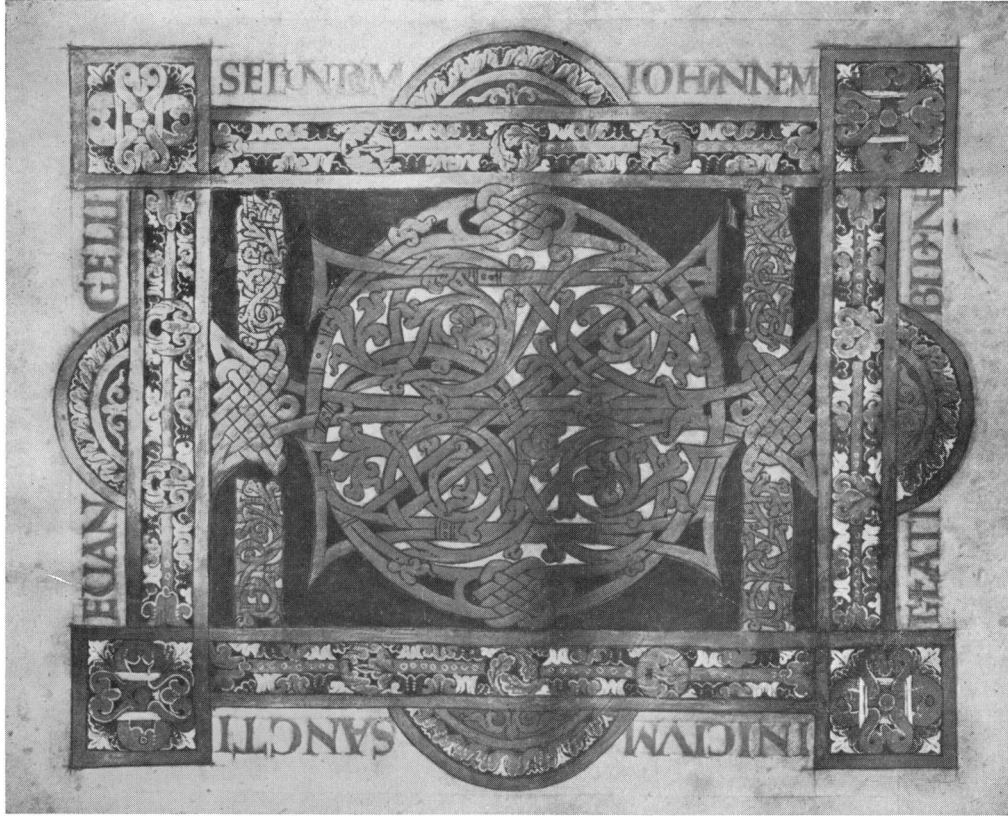
235. "INITIUM"

COD. OTTOBON. 74, FOL. 83 (COURTESY OF M. AVERY)





236. "QUONIAM"  
 COD. OTTOBON. 74, FOL. 127 (COURTESY OF M. AVERY)

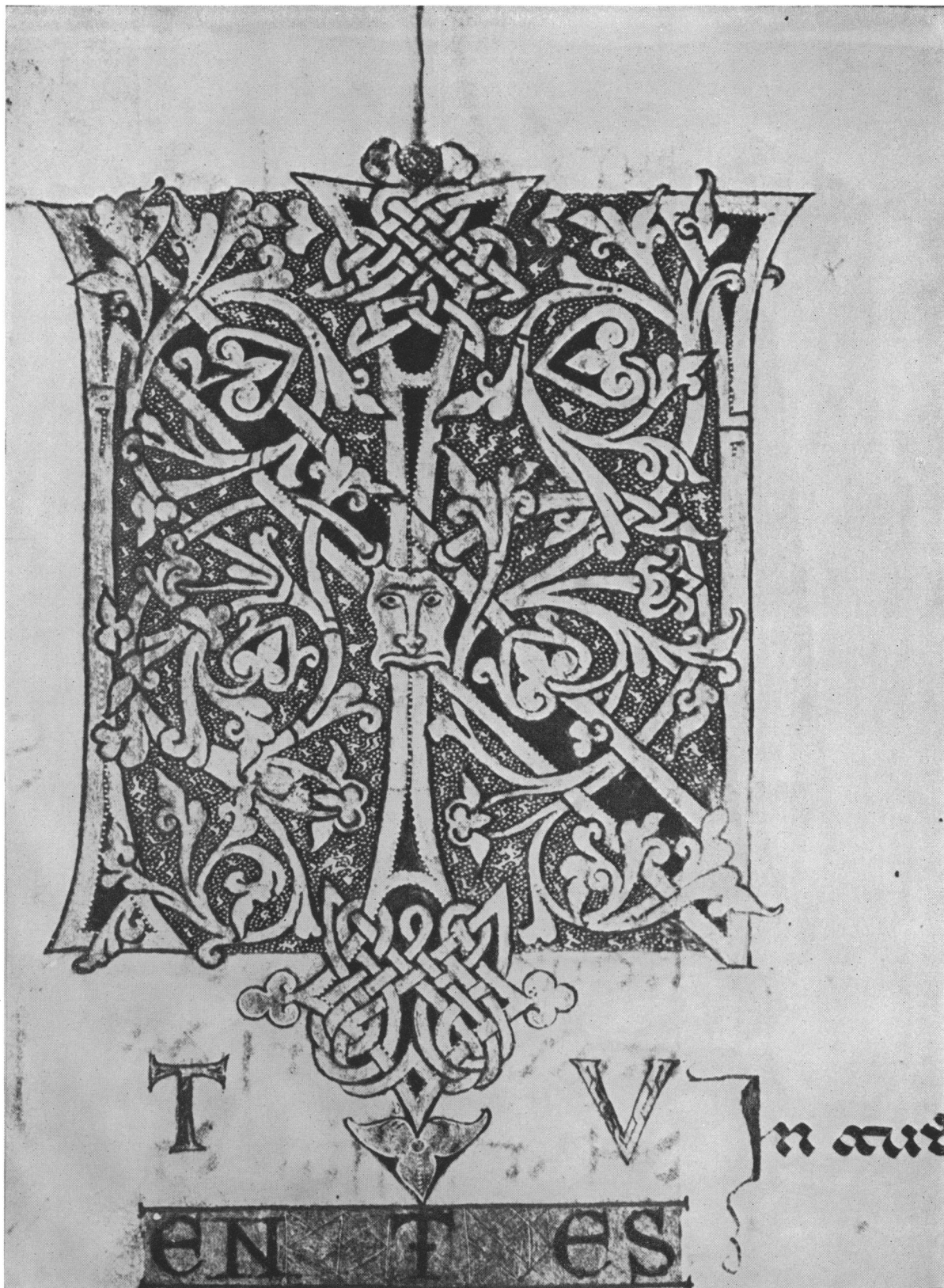


237. "IN PRINCIPIO"  
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238. THE EVANGELIST MATTHEW  
COD. OTTOBON. 74, FOL. 15<sup>v</sup> (COURTESY OF M. AVERY)





239. COD. CAS. 99, FOL. 133. A.D. 1072  
(GREATLY ENLARGED)



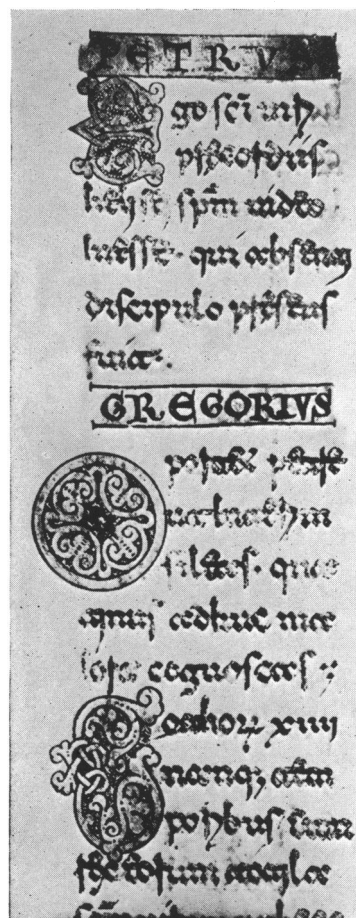
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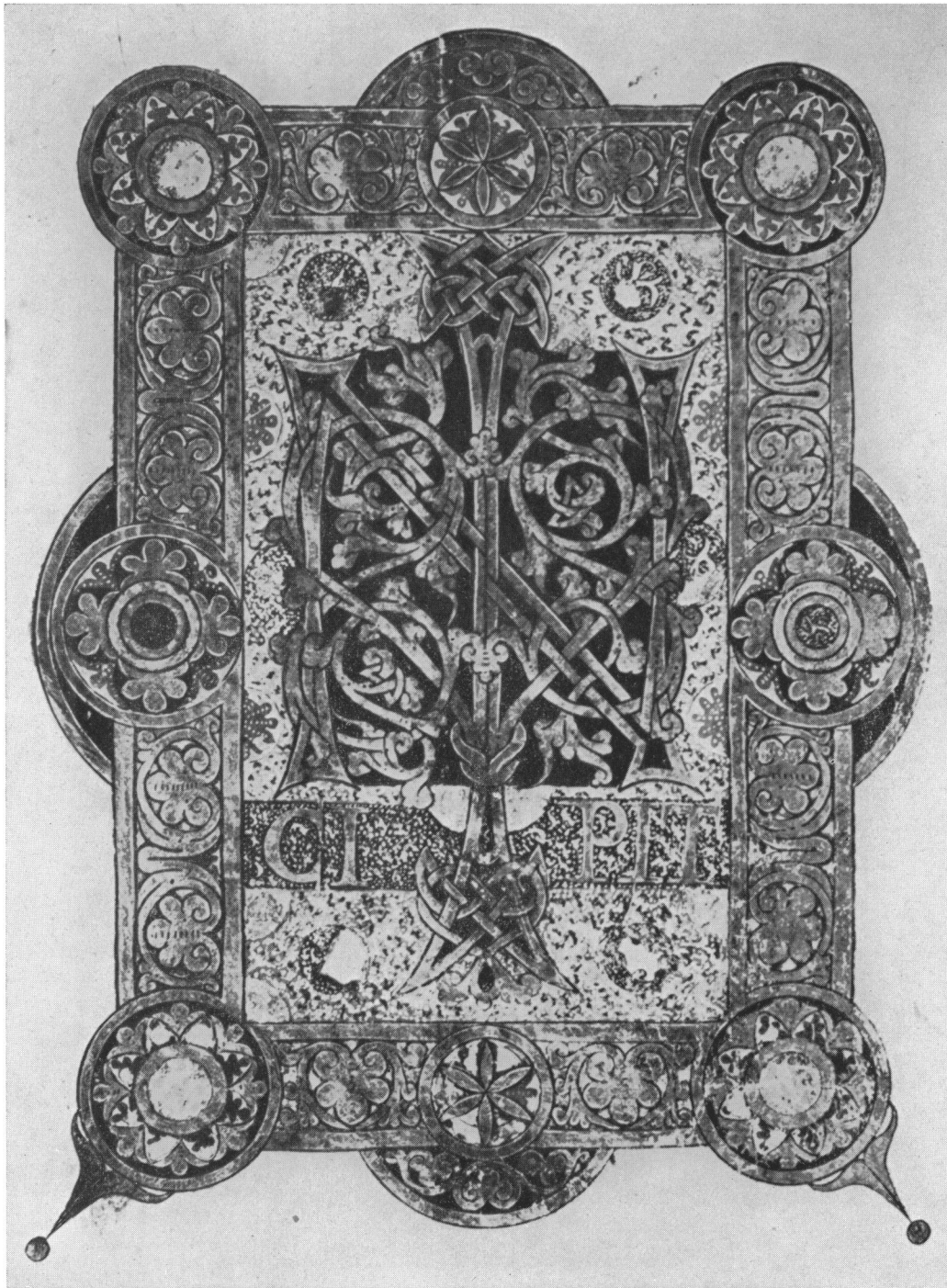
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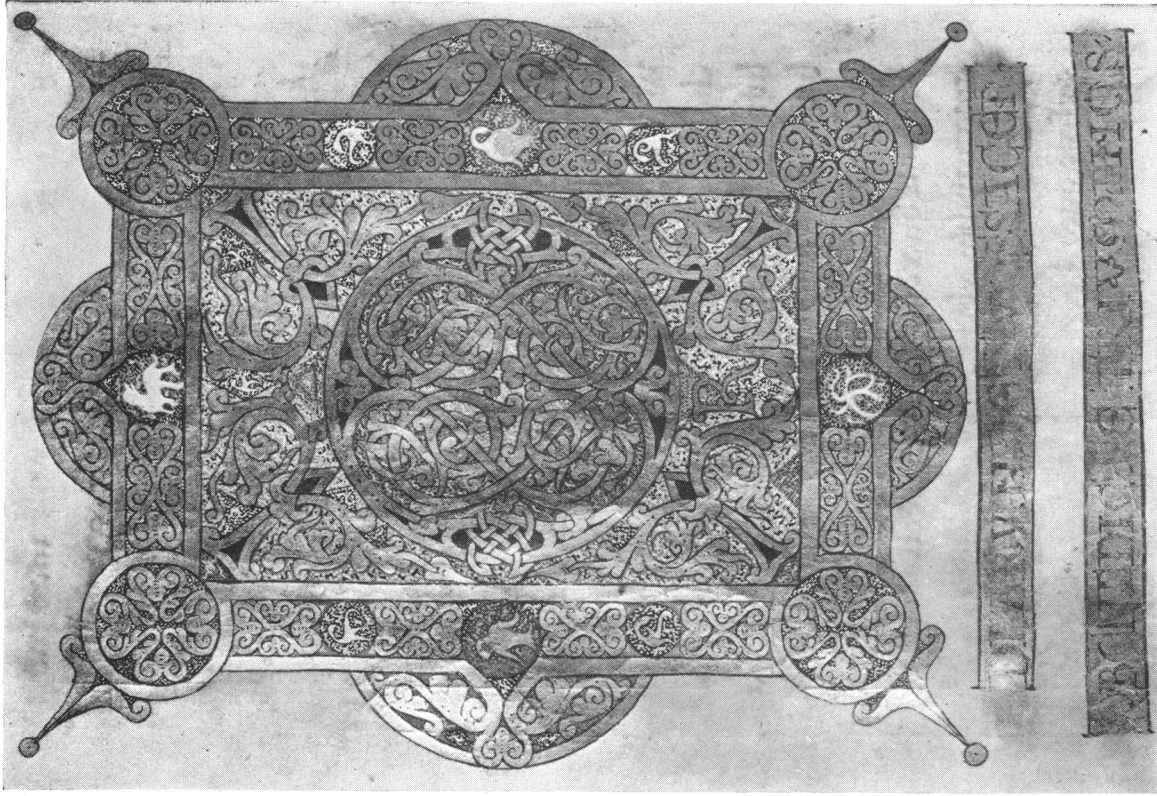


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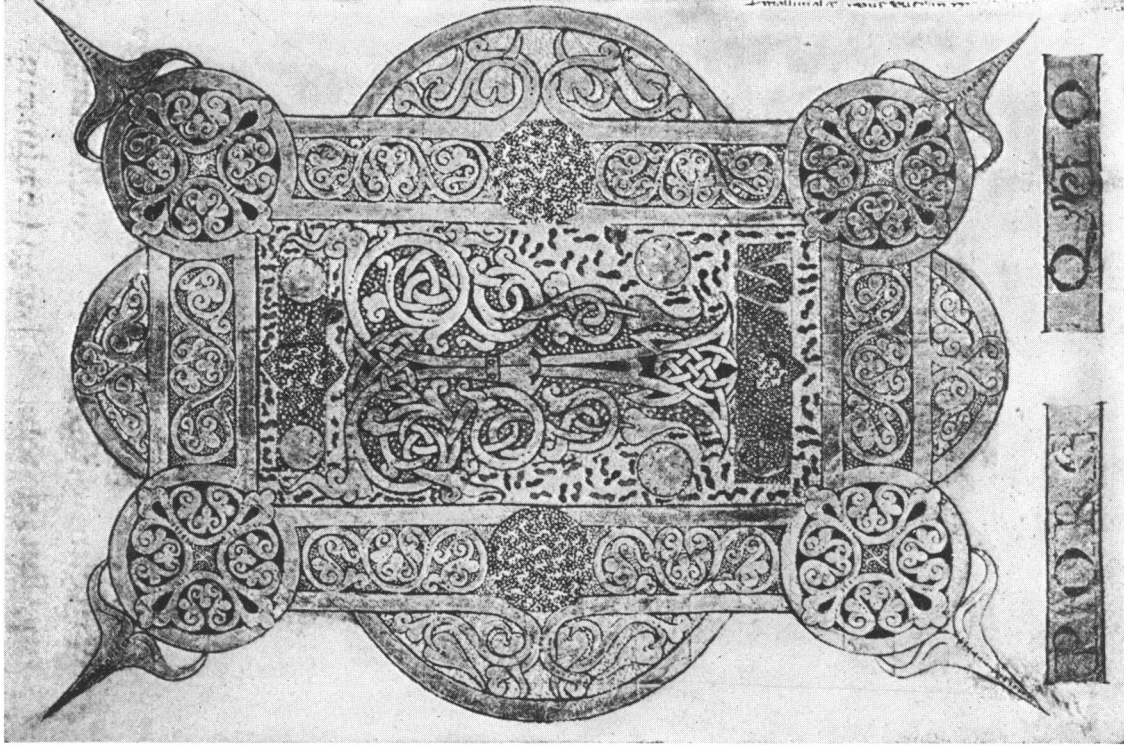


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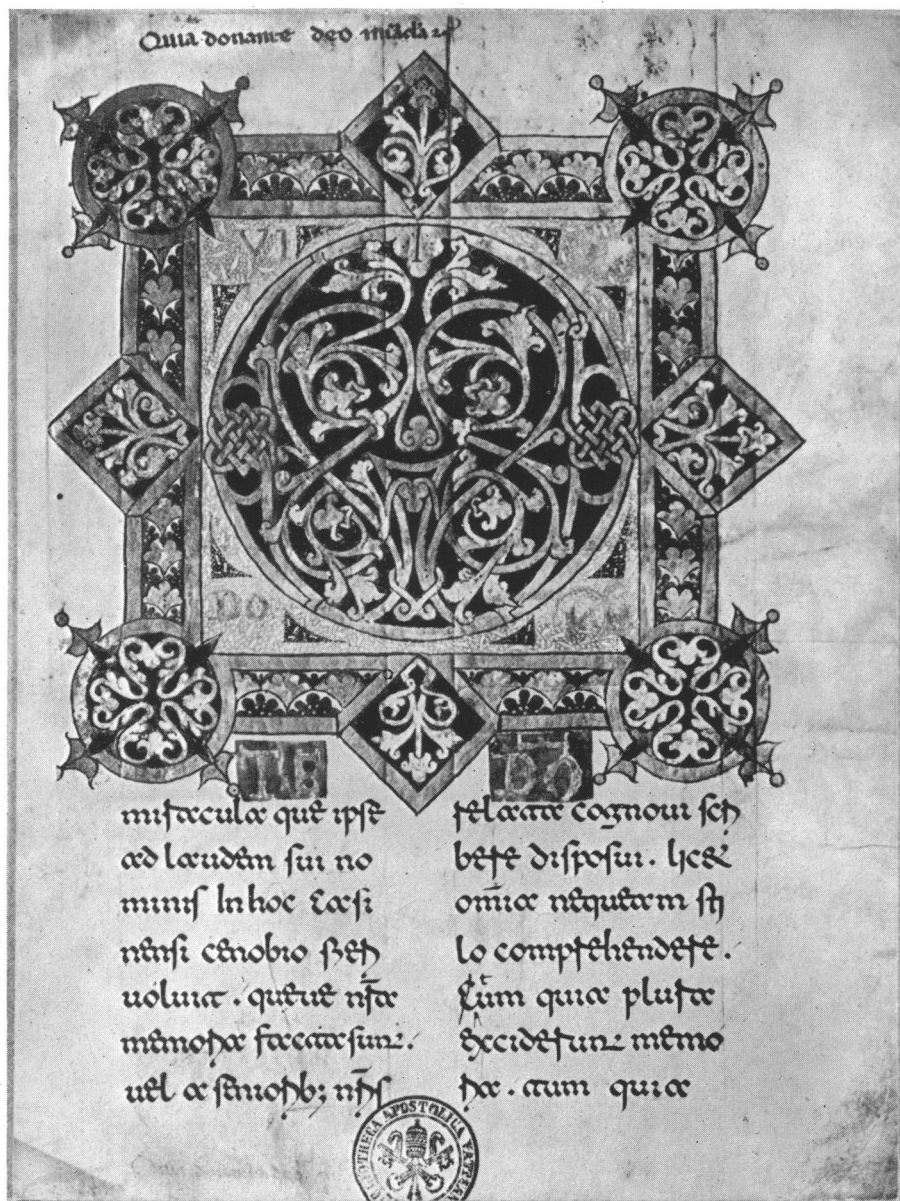




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246. COD. VAT. LAT. 1202, FOL. 231<sup>v</sup>  
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247. COD. VAT. LAT. 1203, FOL. 1. A.D. 1076-1087  
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249. COD. VAT. LAT. 1203, FOL. 24<sup>v</sup>  
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250. IVORY CASKET OF FARFA. CIRCA A.D. 1071/2: ANNUNCIATION, NATIVITY, CRUCIFIXION, DESCENT INTO HELL, ASCENSION



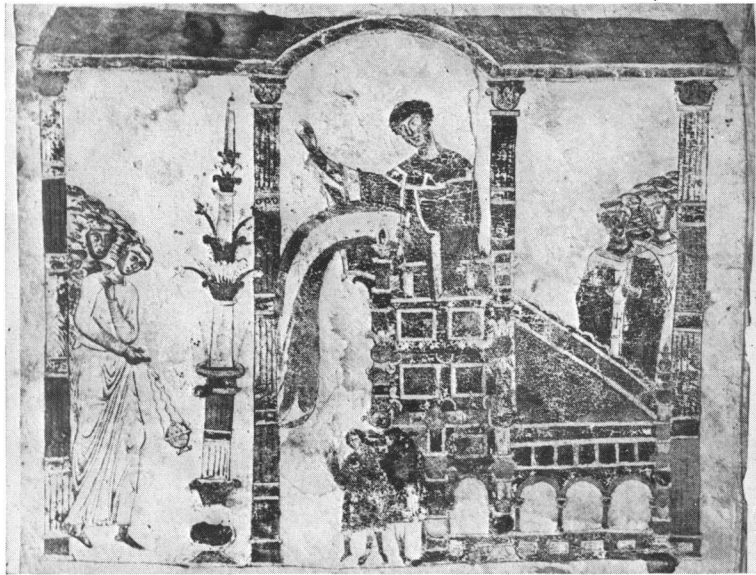
251. IVORY CASKET OF FARFA. ADORATION OF THE MAGI, PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE, FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, DORMITION



252. IVORY CASKET OF FARFA. ANNUNCIATION TO THE SHEPHERDS, PENTECOST



253. IVORY CASKET OF FARFA. BAPTISM, WASHING ST. PETER'S FEET



254. THE CENSING OF THE CANDLE  
EXULTET ROLL, BRIT. MUS. END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



255. BAPTISM. FRESCO. INTERIOR OF SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS. A.D. 1072-1086



256. BAPTISM  
EXULTET ROLL, PISA II. END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

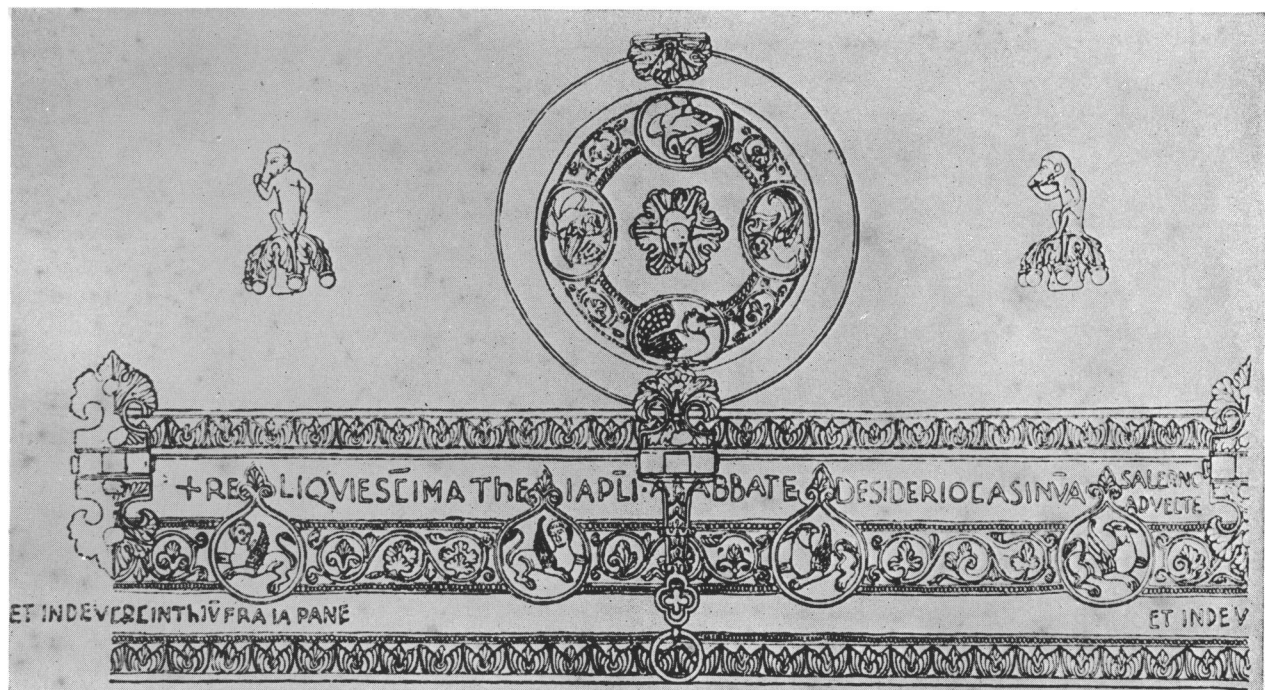




257. RELIQUARY OF ABBOT DESIDERIUS. ROME, SS. COSMA E DAMIANO. CIRCA A.D. 1086



259. APE FROM THE ARCHITRAVE OF THE PORTA DEI LEONI, CATHEDRAL OF SALERNO. A.D. 1080-1085



258. RELIQUARY OF ABBOT DESIDERIUS. ROME, SS. COSMA E DAMIANO